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ACTA ACADEMIAE ABOENSIS
HUMANIORA IV

THE TOBA INDIANS OF THE BOLIVIAN GRAN CHACO

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INTRODUCTION.

Among the Indian tribes inhabiting the vast pampas regions of the Argentine and Bolivian Gran Chaco the Tobas form one of the most important. Although these Indians have been known by name for many centuries and have often entered into both friendly and hostile communication with the whites, some obscurity about them has been the rule down to our own days. Very frequently the Tobas have been confounded with other Argentine or Paraguayan tribes — a fact of course due to the extremely vagrant life of these savages and the many sub-tribes into which they have been divided. The Tobas have been called by many different names: formerly the Spaniards called them *Frentones* — owing to the peculiar way in which they used to shave off the hair of their head — the Quicha-speaking peoples in the region of Tucumán *Juris*. In our own time we meet in ethnological literature — besides the name Toba — appellations like *Mokobis*, *Natokóit*, *Pilagá*, *Takshik*, etc. The Tobas visited by me call themselves *Komlék* which simply means «our own people«, *komí* being in the Toba language the possessive pronoun for the first person plural, and *lek* a suffix which occurs in nearly all Toba words denoting kind of people.

Of all these Indians we now know that they merely form sub-tribes of one and the same Toba nation, and that they belong to a great group of Chaco Indians called Guaycurú, among whom we also have to reckon the ancient Abipones described by the Jesuit Father Dobrizhoffer. The name Guaycurú, accordingly, does not denote any particular tribe but is a generic appellation. The languages spoken by all these tribes seem to be but dialects of one and the same principal language.

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The geographical diffusion of the Tobas in former times has been uncertain owing to their nomadic habits. Even their original home is not known with certainty. For many centuries they have roamed the vast plains between the rivers Salado and Paraguay in southern and central Gran Chaco of the republics Argentine and Bolivia. That their original home was in the frigid pampas regions of the South, may also be inferred from one of their myths which tells of the destruction of the world by snow and ice.

In our days all Tobas live on the river Pilcomayo, being somewhat more stationary than they used to be, and, as far as I can see, three tribes can be distinguished. One lives in Bolivia on the left bank of the river Pilcomayo from the village San Francisco or Villa Montes down to the fort d'Orbigny on the 22:nd degree of latitude. These Tobas communicate with the Chiriguanos in the north and with the Mataco-Nocténes in the east and many of them, besides their own language, speak or understand Guarani. In my estimation they number about 1,500. Another and larger Toba tribe is settled on the right (Argentine) side of the same river, approximately between the 23:rd and the 24:th degrees of latitude. These Indians are the same as are in literature known under the name Pilagá (Pitilagá), and they have the same culture and speak roughly the same dialect as the Bolivian Tobas. They are quite a numerous tribe: the chief Taycolique estimated them at about 3 or 4 thousand. On lower Pilcomayo these Pilagás are neighbours with a third tribe of the Toba nation which occupies the regions southwards from the province of Formosa, nearly to the Paraguay river. In regard to the dialect which they speak and some of their customs they differ considerably from the rest. They are said to be still more numerous than the Pilagás; the chief Taycolique put the number at ten thousand, which however may be an exaggeration. Boggiani, in his *Compendio de etnografia Paraguaya moderna*, speaking of the Tobas describes mainly this tribe, a part of which is known under the name *Toba-michi* («the little Tobas«). Of the same tribe were evidently also the Tobas whom Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche had

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an opportunity to study anthropologically in Buenos Aires in 1899 and who called themselves Takshik.[1] I myself met these Takshik at the sugar factories in the province of Jujuy in October 1911, and they told me that they speak quite a different dialect from the one spoken by the Pilagás and the other Tobas.

The ethnological studies which are contained in this treatise mainly refer to the Bolivian Tobas among whom I have spent about five months, but also to the Toba Pilagás of Argentine. I met the latter at the sugar factories of San Antonio in the province of Jujuy in June 1912, and moreover, some of my Indian informants in Bolivia belonged to Argentine or had lived among their relatives there. The general culture of the Pilagás, as already pointed out, is much the same as that of the Bolivian Tobas, although on the whole they seem to have preserved their ancient customs better than the latter.

Although the name of the Tobas is frequently met in anthropological literature, the previous information about them is scanty and incomplete. Many travellers have formerly, as in our own days, described their physical characteristics and their material culture, but about their social customs we know too little, and of their religion and superstition we have known nothing at all.

The first author to speak of the Tobas was probably Father Lozano, when in his work of 1754[2] he describes the Frentones of the region of Tucumán. That these Frentones were Tobas clearly appears from the few notices the Father gives about them, describing their tall build, their ferocious and warlike character, their way of painting themselves, etc. At the end of the same century they were visited by Azara, who however in his *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale* treats of their customs in purely negative terms: «Ils ne connaissent non plus

[1] Lehmann-Nitsche, *Études anthropologiques sur les indiens Takshik du Chaco Argentin*. La Plata, 1904.

[2] Lozano, *Historia de la Compañia de Jesús en la provincia de Paraguay*. Madrid, 1754. I. 98 sqq.

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ni divinité, ni religion, ni culte, ni chefs, ni lois obligatoires«[1]. Azara in this fell into the same error as many other passing travellers: not being able to learn anything about the customs of the natives, he assumed that they had no customs at all. The same in part holds true of d'Orbigny. In his *l'Homme Américain* he describes the mental characteristics as well as the industrial art of the Tobas in detail, but as to their social life he does not add much to our knowledge. Of their religion he merely states that «leurs croyances religieuses sont bornées«, and in fact, almost the only thing he tells about them in this respect is that they believe in a future life, which he infers from their custom of interring their dead with their whole property.[2]

The Bolivian explorer D. Campos who in 1883, following the river Pilcomayo, passed through the whole territory inhabited by the Tobas incidentally gives some data concerning these Indians[3]. But our present knowledge of the Tobas we chiefly owe to Father Cardús, who in his book *Las misiones franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia* describes various native tribes of the Gran Chaco. What he tells us about the material culture, marriages, feasts, wars, etc. of the Tobas is of great interest, even though — in conformity with the majority of the Christian missionaries — he displays a special interest in the superstitious and cruel customs of the Indians. Of their religious ideas and practices, however, he gives no information, considering the study of these things useless. The moral character of the Tobas the Father, like most other writers, depicts in very dark colours.[4]

Boggiani's small treatise on the Tobas in *Compendio de etnografia Paraguaya moderna* is essentially a compilation founded on the works of Campos, Cardús, and other writers[5]. The same holds true of the

[1] Azara, *Voyages dans l' Amérique méridionale*, Paris, 1809. 4 vols. II. 163.

[2] d'Orbigny, *L'homme Américain (Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale.* Tome IV). Paris 1843, p. 232.

[3] Campos, *De Tarija a la Asunción*, Buenos Aires, 1888, pp. 250—257.

[4] Cardús, *Las misiones franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia.* Barcelona, 1886, pp. 258 sqq.

[5] Boggiani, *Compendio de etnografia Paraguaya moderna.* Asunción, 1900.

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monograph of Father Ducci[1] which, moreover, only deals with one sub-tribe of the Tobas on the lower Pilcomayo.

There is no doubt that the Tobas have in many respects changed their customs and their mode of life in the course of time, especially as to their material culture. Being, as they used to be, nomads, they constructed their houses much more simply than in our days; they did not cultivate the ground to the same extent; they did not dress themselves in the same way, and so forth. The houses which they used formerly were rather primitive, being much like the huts which are still found among the Chorotis and the Ashluslays. These huts, according to Campos and Cardús, consisted of some tree branches, planted superficially in the earth in a circle, combined and tied together at the top and covered with small twigs and grass. Nowadays they make houses of the same form as the whites, constructed of beams or balks with walls and roof of twigs and grass. — Their dress has naturally been changed during the contact with the white man. Cardús relates that the majority of the men used to go entirely naked, only wearing a small apron of skin or stuff. When they went out hunting or to battle they wore a jacket or a breast-plate of tiger's skin. Although nowadays the Toba men commonly use articles of clothing obtained from the whites they are still frequently seen to go almost naked, only wearing a small waist-cloth, especially when the weather is hot or when they are working. The women, according to the same writer, used to have a small apron of fox-, deer-, or tiger-skin tied at the waist which reached down to the knees. The hairy side of the skin was turned inwards and the outside was painted in different colours and figures. Nowadays the dress of the Toba women is the *tipoy*, a sort of long shirt made of red or some other brightly coloured stuff, which covers the whole body leaving only the arms bare.

Although agriculture has probably never been entirely unknown to

[1] Fray Zacarias Ducci, *Los Tobas de Taccagalé con arte y vocabulario Toba-Castellano*. Buenos Aires, 1904.

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the Tobas, it has nowadays more importance to them than formerly. At present they cultivate maize, pumpkin, santia (water-melon), manioc, and beans. These fruits, however, do not suffice for long periods of each year, and in Bolivia the Tobas obtain much maize from the Chiriguanos in exchange for dried fish. The land inhabited by the Bolivian Tobas is not very suitable for cultivation, and the whites have gradually expropriated them from the most cultivable territories. The Tobas have always been skilled hunters, their country being comparatively rich in game. Some of them keep dogs which are specially trained for the hunting of the boar. Fishing is, however, of much greater importance than hunting; in fact, fish forms their staple food for the main part of the year. Living, as the Tobas do, on the banks of the river they are very skilled fishermen, using for fishing not only nets but also bows and arrows.

Of domesticated animals they keep, besides their dogs, sheep, and goats, as well as horses, which they have obtained from the whites.

For many years the Tobas have been acquainted with the fire-arms of the whites. The warlike Pilagás have used them also in the wars they have waged against the whites and against the Ashluslay Indians on the Bolivian side of the river, and unlike the majority of the Indian races, they are good shots. In Bolivia most Tobas still use bows and arrows. The lance and the club were formerly their most important weapons in war; in our days they chiefly use them for hunting the wild boar.

Although the Tobas are now much more stationary than they used to be, they have preserved many of their ancient nomadic habits. The Toba Indian is by nature restless and desirous of wandering. The villages are frequently moved from one spot to another, for the sake of the water or the pasture, because of a death, or without any apparent necessity at all. Particular families also often wander with their whole property to some other part of the country, for the sake of change or to see their relatives and friends there. Both the Argentine and the Bolivian Tobas have been in the habit of making long wan-

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derings to the sugar factories of northern Argentine where they work for the whites, some staying only a few days or weeks, others for months, but always returning to their homes when the algaroba-season draws near.

There is no doubt that the Tobas also have changed some of their ancient social customs under the influence of Christian civilisation. Thus, for instance, the ceremonies at marriage and at the birth of a child are nowadays more simple than they were formerly, although they are still clearly connected with certain religious or magical ideas. The custom of tattooing the face with indelible marks has, as far as I know, in our days been preserved only among the Tobas on the lower Pilcomayo. The same tribe, and some of the Pilagás, are also in the habit of piercing the ear-lobes and inserting cylindrical plugs of wood into them.* This custom has already been dropped by the Bolivian Tobas, but was still in vogue at the time of Cardús. Similarly the custom of tattooing used to be practised among all Toba tribes, being however always limited to the female sex. Tattooing has been supplanted by body-painting which still flourishes as a magical and decorative practice, especially among the Bolivian Tobas.

In religion proper the culture of the Tobas seems to have undergone less changes. The assertion of Azara, that they have no religion at all, and the affirmation of d'Orbigny that their religious beliefs are very limited, is not quite consistent with actual facts. The Tobas still have plenty of customs which refer to their belief in spiritual beings and a future life, and as we shall find the main part of this monograph treats of their religion.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the physical characteristics of the Tobas since they have been described by nearly all authors ever since Lozano. The Tobas certainly form an easily recogniseable type of Indians, considerably differing from the rest of the Chaco tribes, one salient feature being their remarkably tall and strong build of body.

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The physical anthropology of the Tobas has been studied scientifically by the German anthropologist Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche.[1]

In regard to the moral and spiritual qualities of the Tobas there has also reigned much unanimity among travellers. Nearly all have characterised them as bad, ferocious, treacherous, thievish, etc., qualities which they have especially shown towards the whites. Typical on this point is the description of Father Cardús, from which the following passage may be quoted:

«The Toba has a lively, daring, and suspicious look. He is treacherous and lies like other Indians, but he is more skilled in dissimulating his feelings, he gives himself the appearance of being calm; he is open and frank in his manners, he speaks with ease and without fear. He is vivacious, cunning, proud, valiant, bold, and ferocious. Even his language seems to be invented exclusively for his serious and arrogant character, and in his mode of speech he is always imperative and haughty.

The Tobas entertain an implacable hatred against the whites, and partly for the sake of revenge, partly from custom they have, up to this day, done to them all the harm they have been able to do.«[2]

This description is in the main correct, but somewhat incomplete. It is true that the Tobas are nowadays more tame then they used to be, but their character is at bottom the same and must needs reveal itself to one who lives amongst them for a long time. If the Tobas have proved bad and treacherous to the whites, this is because they have looked upon the latter as their natural enemies from whom, with much reason, they have expected nothing good. This is also the reason why they have done them «all the harm they have been able to do them«. Yet from this rule also there are exceptions. Thus Dr. Campos mentions the extremely valuable aid which was given him by

[1] Lehmann-Nitsche, *Études anthropologiques sur les Indiens Takshik.* La Plata, 1904. Idem, *Estudios antropológicos sobre los Chiriguanos, Chorotis, Matacos y Tobas.* Anales del Museo de la Plata, Tomo I. Buenos Aires, 1908.

[2] Cardús, *Las misiones franciscanas*, p. 259.

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the wild Tobas during his difficult expedition from Tarija to Asunción along the river Pilcomayo, and he confesses that without the aid of the Indians he would never have come through. When the Tobas have conceived friendship towards a white man and given up their natural distrust they will often display qualities quite contrary to those just mentioned: they may on closer acquaintance prove good-hearted, helpful, and hospitable, nay, give proof of a tact which one would hardly expect from a savage people.

The distrust which the Tobas feel against the whites is also the main reason why they have never been converted to Christianity. All endeavours of the Fathers to christianise them have been futile and the Mission of San Francisco, founded in 1860, was only active till 1873, when it was given up. The Tobas have tried to conserve their independence till the last, perhaps knowing sufficiently the benefits of the Christian civilisation. If in spite of this they have gradually become more tame, this is only a further proof that a savage race of Indians can be civilised without the aid of a Catholic or Christian mission.

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CHAPTER I.

Social life.

1. Social organisation. Chiefs.

In regard to their general culture and the organisation of their society the Tobas seem to me to occupy an intermediate place between the primitive Matacos, Chorotis, and Ashluslays on the one hand, and the somewhat more civilised Avas or Chiriguanos on the other, drawing, however, nearer to the latter than to the former. If we compare the social organisation of the Tobas with that of for instance the Chorotis, the superiority of the Toba culture is conspicuous. It is true that even among the Tobas the «tribe« is a pretty loose social unit, being simply composed of families which are related to each other by blood. But whereas among the Chorotis the chief is nothing more than a *pater familias* without real power, the chiefs of the Tobas (called *alyánek*) seem to have exercised a considerable authority, at least in times of war. Although the Tobas have not been conquerors in the same sense as the Chiriguanos, they have always been a warlike race of Indians, and such peoples generally have more strongly organised societies than peoples who never or seldom have tried their strength against enemies, and have not grown accustomed to the order and discipline which war requires.

Social ranks and classes do not exist among the Tobas, just as they are unknown to the Chiriguanos; but we can trace the germ of a nobility in the fact that the sons and descendants of a great cacique or chief of war generally enjoy greater estimation then other members of the society. The chiefs work almost like the rest of the people and have no particular symbols of their dignity, but they are frequently richer and possess several wives

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The dignity of the chief is as a rule hereditary: the eldest son of a cacique generally follows his father as the chief of the tribe, except when he is born from a woman whom the chief has divorced. But although a Toba may inherit the chieftainship after his father, he must always display certain prominent qualities to be approved of by his people. These qualities are valour, skill, and experience in war-making, as well as intelligence and eloquence. The warlike virtues, of course, are most appreciated. If a chief falls short in this respect he is removed by his people, or by the Council of the Eldest, in spite of all the merits which his father may have possessed.

In addition to the chiefs who receive their rank by inheritance, extraordinary leaders are sometimes appointed, these being generally younger men who have distinguished themselves in war. After a war successfully carried out such a temporary war leader may be appointed a permanent chief.

The strength of the social organisation of the Tobas also appears from the fact that at the side of the caciques there is a council of the eldest men from each sub-tribe, called *eakachi* («The Old Ones«), who watch the conduct and activity of the chiefs and confirm their election. If a chief shows himself cowardly and useless for his office, or treats his people badly, the Council of the Eldest penalise him and remove him from the leadership. The most important function of the *eakachi* is to deliberate on questions of war and peace and to appoint an extraordinary chief when an attack against an enemy is planned. In addition, they function as judges or arbitrators in quarrels and fights between the men.

2. Courtship and marriage.

The Tobas generally live in monogamy, but there are exceptions to this rule. The majority of the Toba men have only one wife each for the simple reason that it is difficult for a common man to maintain several wives and a large family. But if a Toba considers himself rich enough and has an opportunity of getting wives, it is of no rare

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occurrence that he marries two, three, or more women, who generally live in different villages owing to the jealousy which they entertain one against the others. A polygamy of this kind occurs especially among the great chiefs. Thus the famous cacique Taycolique has had in all ten wives. One has died, he has divorced five, and at the time of my stay among the Tobas he had four wives. Such great chiefs frequently separate themselves from their wives only for the sake of marrying some younger and prettier woman. The children of a divorced wife have not the same rights as the legitimate children, and if the eldest son is born from such a wife he cannot become a chief on the death of his father. In this case the eldest son of the new wife will inherit the chieftainship. The father, however, does not break completely with the children of a divorced wife if they are adult, but maintains relations with them, and the latter sometimes visit their father.

Among the Tobas as among most Chaco tribes pre-nuptial chastity is almost unknown, great sexual liberty being allowed both boys and girls before marriage. As soon as a girl is marriageable, that is, has passed through her first menstruation, she may choose casual lovers, and generally she does not fail to make use of her freedoom. Although in some parts of the country the free love among the Tobas seems to have degenerated into prostitution, there is no doubt that their social morality has approved of this custom since ancient times. The young men and women meet at the dances, some of which among the Tobas as among the Chorotis are intimately connected with the sexual life. The girls cannot, however, as among the Chorotis, take the initiative in contracting marriages.

When a Toba man has found a girl whom he likes and wants for his wife, he asks her hand of her mother. The latter, having consulted her daughter, may accept or refuse the proposal. Frequently it is hard for the suitor to get the girl he desires. He has to parley for her repeatedly, and in order to make himself agreeable to his future parents-in-law and at the same time show his ability to maintain a family he brings them fish, game, and other presents. It is doubtful whether

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this custom can be called «a purchase of the wife, more or less disguised«, as Boggiani characterises it.[1] The things which the suitor brings are not a payment but presents, or proofs of his ability to fulfil his duties as a family man. The custom of purchasing wives is unknown to all Chaco Indians. On the other hand, among the Tobas it may sometimes happen that the suitor, without asking the parents for the girl, simply steals her or elopes with her to another part of the country, where he will keep her as his wife.

The proposal having been accepted, marriage takes place without many ceremonies. The most important is the dance *nahotti* which takes place the first night after a marriage has been arranged. The dancing boys and girls form a ring round the newly-married couple, who are sitting close by a big fire without taking part in the dance. Another ceremony on this occasion is the drinking-bout, algaroba-beer *(maplyi)* being drunk by the men in great quantities.

Of old the trials to which a suitor had to submit in order to win the girl he wanted for his wife were much harder, as may be inferred from an account by Father Cardús. The custom which he describes is of so much interest that I may quote it at length.

«As soon as a young man considers that he has sufficient power and titles to marry, he simply addresses the parents of the girl he wants for his wife and asks for her hand. If the parents accept the proposal they construct, outside the house, a small hut of straw with a small entrance and a hole in the middle. They put the girl into the hut and bring her some food at certain hours, and she is not allowed to go out except at the most urgent necessities. The young man, having previously made a cincture of the bones of various animals killed by him, hangs it round his waist and places himself outside the hut. He starts to beat a sort of small drum which they call *pimpin*, moving the body up and down and from one side to the other, in order that the bones which he wears round the waist may make noise, at the same time chanting in a low voice a chant customary among them in such ca-

[1] Boggiani, *op. cit.* p. 27.

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ses. The girl is sitting inside, looking through a hole at her future husband and listening to his chant. The young man has to continue this function regularly, sometimes up to eight days, standing chanting and beating the drum and moving his body, independently of whether it is cold or hot, whether it is raining or the sun is broiling, he being allowed to interrupt the performance only for the most urgent needs. If he rests too much or gets tired, above all if he does not please the parents of the girl, they may tell him that he is not good enough to marry their daughter. — On the other hand, if the parents are pleased with him it is no matter if he be a little lazy, and in such cases the mother of the girl, as if to encourage him to endurance, may on the fourth or fifth day of his duty, plant one or two poles close by the place where he stays, putting a little straw or some branches upon them in order that he may have some shade during the hottest hours of the day, or some shelter when it is raining. Such an attention is a proof of the affection which the suitor's future parents-in-law feel for him and at the same time a guarantee that, as soon as the function prescribed by custom is finished, his wishes will be fulfilled.«[1]

This custom, which no longer prevails among the Bolivian Tobas, is interesting as setting forth both the religious and the social significance of marriage among the Indians. The marriage-candidate, as pointed out, always has to show his strength and endurance as well as his ability to support the future family; the cincture made of the bones of animals killed by him which he wears round the waist, and the chant continued for several days and nights are natural demonstrations of these qualities. But marriage at the same time has a religious significance: on an occasion like this, which decides the whole future of the two contrahents, the evil spirits are always on the alert to frustrate the good designs of men. The courter, with the aid of his drum, his rattling cincture, and his chant, is trying to keep away the demons who want to attack and harm his future wife. Similarly,

[1] Cardús, *op. cit.* pp. 263 sqq.

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the dance *nahotti*, performed in the night, and the drinking-bout, as we shall see later on, have a religious or ceremonial character.

In all cases where the marriage-arrangement has been made in a friendly manner the newly-married man goes to live in the house of his parents-in-law, becoming a member of his wife's family. The children are also supposed to belong to the mother's tribe. This matrilineal system of descent seems to prevail among all Chaco tribes, although it does not among the Tobas amount to a real matriarchy or mother-rule as for instance among the Chorotis.

Divorces frequently occur not only in the families of the chiefs but also among common people. Sometimes the man, sometimes the woman takes the first step towards a separation, and often for insignificant reasons. An adultery casually committed with another man rarely for the husband becomes a cause of separating from his wife; only when she continues to maintain illicit relations with another man does he divorce her. On the other hand, a woman easily leaves her husband if he is unfaithful, if he treats her badly, or if he proves lazy and unable to support her. It is probable that the contact with the whites has exerted an unfavourable influence upon the matrimonial relations of the Tobas, but however this may be it is a fact that divorces occur among all Indians without the influence of civilisation.

Among the Tobas the men are not particularly jealous of their wives and rarely fight for the women; on the other hand, jealousy is a very prominent quality with the Toba women, as with the Indian women of the Gran Chaco in general. Fights between girls who have fallen in love with the same man are of frequent occurrence. Similarly, if a married woman gets to know that her husband maintains illicit relations with another woman the consequence in most cases is a fight between the legitimate wife and the rival, and these fights are not seldom sanguinary. The one tries to kill the other, which however, of course, she rarely succeeds in doing. Such fights are continued for several hours, often for a whole night, during which the two enraged women beat each other with their hands, scratch each other

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with the nails or with big cactus thorns which they have tied at the wrists.

3. Position of the women. Division of labour.

In spite of the frequent occurrence of divorces the Tobas hold their women in high esteem, as may, indeed, be inferred from one of their myths about the origin of women. The position of the woman among these Indians is by no means that of a slave or of an oppressed being, and it is impossible to subscribe to the opinion of Campos when he says that «the women, as has been stated by all, are the yoke-carriers of the house; they are the slaves and not the comrades of the man«.[1] Such an opinion can only be pronounced by a passing traveller who has not had an opportunity to study the social conditions of the natives thoroughly. It is true that matrimonial relations are not among the Tobas as ideal as for instance among the Chorotis, where the women have the right to choose husbands and exercise a considerable social influence. Among the Tobas it may happen — what would never happen among the Chorotis — that a man beats his wife, whether because he is bad himself, or because she has proved unfaithful or tried his patience too much by her jealousy. But such cases are exceptions of which we are not entitled to make a rule. Generally the Tobas treat their wives with kindness and affection.

The division of labour prevailing among the Tobas easily gives a superficial observer the impression that the women are treated as subjected beings. According to this division of labour, the women have not only to do the domestic work in general, but in particular to collect and carry home wild fruits from the forest as well as fire-wood and water. Thus every afternoon one can see the Toba women returning home laden with heavy burdens of fuel or of algaroba or other fruits, carried in large net-bags. The hardest workers are the old women, who also carry the fuel; the younger married women generally shun the heaviest work. As to agriculture, both sexes take part in it, but the men do the rough work, felling the trees and clearing the

[1] Campos, *op. cit.* p. 251.

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ground. Of the other occupations of the men fishing and hunting are the most important. The armadillo, which is regarded as a «female« animal, is the only game caught by the women.

The industry which is characteristic of the Indian woman everywhere is by no means an expression of her inferior social position. The work she does is not compulsory but voluntary, and wholly due to the division of labour which has been naturally developed among the Indians by their conditions of life. The independent and influential position of the Toba woman within the family also appears from the right she possesses to decide about the future husband of her daughter; as we have seen, the mother's consent is particularly required. When feuds against other tribes are planned the women also show their influence, exciting the passions and revengefulness of the men.

4. Birth-customs.

The birth of a child is celebrated with various ceremonies the aim of which seems to be to protect the new-born child and its mother against supernatural dangers. The precautions taken on these occasions are more elaborate when the child-bed woman is the wife of a great chief. Even some time before birth takes place the woman has to observe certain rules in regard to her diet. She must not eat fish, and with other kinds of animal food she must also be cautious. Thus if she eats the paunch or the intestines of a cow she will fall ill and birth will be rendered more difficult. The umbilical cord is cut off with a shell and superstitiously guarded for some time. If the umbilical cord is thrown away before the navel-wound is perfectly healed this is the same thing as to throw away the life of the chid: the little one will soon die. The umbilical cord thus, even after it is cut off, remains in a mysterious connection with the child.

After birth the ventral parts of the child-bed woman are well covered with clothes in order to protect her against the evil spirits which might do her harm. The danger is particularly imminent at night. Therefore the Indians assemble every evening in great number outside

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the chief's house, chanting the whole night accompanying themselves with their rattle-gourds and drinking excessively algaroba-beer. In the day the young men perform the dance *nomi*. During the first days the woman does not leave the house, and although she is not ill she remains completely inactive. She likewise keeps on fasting, eating neither fish nor meat and living solely on maize and certain leaves. — The above ceremonies are performed, and the rules of diet are observed, during five days, or until the navel-wound of the child is completely healed.

Much the same ceremonies are performed when the mother is a woman of ordinary rank, only with the exception that the father of the new-born child alone chants with his rattle the first evening after birth. Nor does the dance *nomi* take place. The happy event is always celebrated by an algaroba drinking-bout. The mother does not stay in bed and does not seem to be ill, but she abstains from any work during the five critical days and goes on dieting, particularly avoiding fish.

All these customs are based upon the belief that at the moment of birth and during the first days afterwards both the new-born child and the mother are particularly exposed to the attacks of the evil spirits, the *peyák*. These demons are believed to arrive in great numbers in the form of snakes — an especial kind of snake which still exists in the country of the Tobas — but in an invisible form, and with every breath of wind try to enter the house and penetrate into the woman with the consequence that, if they succeed in doing so, both the mother and the child will fall ill and die. The chanting and the shaking of the rattles at night and the dancing in the day-time, just as the precaution to cover the child-bed woman, have for their object to protect mother and child and to keep off the supernatural molesters. Similarly, the drinking of algaroba-beer on this occasion is of ceremonial character, as we shall see later on.

However, not only the mother but also the father of the child has to observe certain precautionary rules especially in regard to his diet. The custom known under the name of «couvade«, which prevails in

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one form or another among most South American tribes, is in part practised by the Tobas also. Formerly they seem to have observed this custom almost as strictly as the Chorotis do still, the father being obliged to lie inactive in his bed for some days, strictly fasting. In our days the father does not observe a real couvade in so far that he does not keep to his bed. He merely abstains from doing hard work and avoids certain kinds of food, because they are believed to exert an unfavourable influence upon his new-born child. Thus for instance, if he eats the head of a cow, his little son will die. Similarly he must eat fish with caution. His principal food during the critical days consists of maize and fruits.

All couvade customs are founded on the idea, deeply rooted in the Indian mind, that during the first days after the birth of the child there exists a mysterious connection between the latter and both parents, especially the mother, manifesting itself in that everything that happens to the parents also in some way affects the child. If the former for instance eat some unsuitable food, it is almost the same thing as if their delicate offspring ate the same food, and so forth. The situation remains critical about five days, or until the navel-wound of the child is perfectly healed. This idea, of course, is due to the fact that the navel-wound may really become a dangerous source of infection. If complications of any kind ensue with the new-born child or with the mother, this is at once set down to the operation of evil spirits. Only gradually is the child developed into a being independent of the physical and psychical constitution of its parents.

5. *Abortion and infanticide.*

Among the Tobas as among other Chaco Indians infanticide and abortion frequently occur, being approved of by the social morality of the natives. Children which are born rachitic or deformed, or in general very sickly, are put to death by their parents immediately after birth. This custom is partly due to the consideration that there is little possibility of such a child's developing into a strong man and

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a useful member of society, but partly also to superstition. A sick child is possessed by a demon, a *peyàk*, or is itself a demon, and owing to the close connection which there is between the child and its parents, this may entail unfortunate consequences for the parents also, nay, for the whole tribe.

Cardús relates that when among the Tobas a woman dies in childbirth, the new-born child is buried alive with its mother's body.[1] This custom is no longer practised, but it is quite probable that it existed formerly. The new-born child with its mother forms, as it were, one single personality. A sucking child which is left without mother is also left without nutrition, — since according to the Indians a child can only be nourished with the milk of its own mother, — and would thus die in any case.

When twins are born the second is generally put to death. The birth of twins is looked upon as an unnatural and ominous thing, since the Indians consider that one man cannot become the father of two children at once. Besides they say that a woman has not sufficient milk to nourish two babes at the same time, and from this point of view also twins are regarded as unlucky. The Indian woman who has to work hard is anxious not to bear more children than she is able to nourish and take care of. A Toba family as a rule has three or four children which arrive at intervals of two or three years. The matter is probably arranged by abortion.

Abortion however occurs more frequently among the unmarried women. A Toba woman always procures abortion when she becomes pregnant before marriage, and when the father is unknown. Married women also have recourse to feticide or infanticide when they have been abandoned by their husbands. Similarly a Toba man may kill the newborn child of his daughter when his son-in-law has incurred his dislike.

Abortions are brought about by mechanical treatment: the woman

[1] Cardús, *op. cit.* p. 263.

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herself presses out the foetus with her thumbs. In some cases she previously kills it by striking the stomach. Generally some old woman assists her. Abortions of this kind are done pretty early, in the fourth or fifth month after conception. The operation is said to cause the woman some pain but does not much disorder her health. Poisonous drugs or other abortives are not used by the Chaco Indians.

The Indians find nothing immoral in abortion and infanticide. A new-born child is no personality and has not an independent existence; its parents, and particularly the mother, have full right to decide over its life. Hence an unmarried Toba woman also regards it as her private affair whether she kills the foetus or not. A feticide does not cause her more remorse than if she extracted a tooth. Custom seems to be very strict on this point among all Chaco tribes, and, in spite of the sexual liberty prevailing, single women with children are never seen among these Indians.

6. *Education of children. Puberty-ceremonies.*

The Tobas educate their children in complete liberty. Parents are never seen punishing their children for disobedience or faults committed. This is partly due to the fact that the sense of what is proper and permissible is not among the Indians developed in the same way as in civilised societies. The Indian hates restraints and fetters of any kind; he wants himself to be free and independent and grants his children the same liberty. The latter, on the other hand, from an Indian point of view very seldom appear punishable, since they easily accommodate themselves to the customs and the moral views of the tribe. A Toba boy may rob or do some other harm to a stranger, be he an Indian of a foreign tribe or a white man, but he will by a natural instinct respect the property of a member of his own tribe. In the education of the Indian children the power of example and the natural desire of imitation does most. It is interesting to note how the young boys are constantly watching the occupations of the elder men and how easily in this way they acquire the necessary skill in the same

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occupations, above all in hunting and fishing. When the Toba boy is about six or seven years old, his father makes him a small bow and arrows with which he frequently practises shooting, thus early acquiring dexterity in managing the weapon.

As far as I know special ceremonies are not, among the Tobas, practised with young men at the attainment of puberty. On the other hand, when a young girl has her first menstruation and becomes marriageable the incident is among all Chaco Indians celebrated with certain feasts, dancing, beer-drinking, etc. In order fully to understand these feasts it is necessary to know the religious ideas which the Indians connect with the phenomena of puberty. It is by no means sufficient to say that the puberty-ceremonies simply serve to initiate the girl into her coming sexual life; their significance is much deeper.

The physiological process which causes the menstruation of the women, incomprehensible as it seems to the Indian, strikes him as something extremely mysterious and must needs give rise to certain superstitious beliefs. Thus both the Tobas and the other Chaco tribes seem to have the idea that this strange phenomenon is caused, or at any rate influenced, by the new-moon. Moreover, since the menstrual periods, and especially the first menses, are as a rule connected with certain nervous disorders and other alterations in the physical condition of the woman, it is naturally thought that during these critical days she is seriously exposed to evil spirits. At the same time, of course, owing to the awakening sexual desire, the relationship between this physiological process and the other procreative functions of the woman is realised. The attainment of puberty therefore for the Indian girl certainly means the beginning of her sexual life, but at the same time it means her entrance into a very critical epoch of development during which she is often — especially at child-birth and during the following menses — exposed to supernatural dangers. Hence the initiation ceremonies at puberty partly have for their object directly to protect her against these dangers for the time being, partly to purify her once for all from the evils associated with her sexual

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functions during the years to come or — to express it more plainly — to *harden* her against evil spirits. From this point of view we have to regard all puberty-ceremonies among the Indians.

Among the Tobas the puberty-ceremonies are more complicated when the girl is the daughter of a great chief, in which case the incident is celebrated by the whole community and with much the same ceremonies as take place when the chief's wife is in child-bed. For the five critical days the girl is not allowed to leave the house; she must fast rigorously and keep the whole body well covered. Every evening all the younger men from the neighbouring villages assemble outside the chief's house, shaking rattles, chanting, and drinking algaroba-beer. During the day, again, the festival dance *nomi* is performed by the men. The object of all these ceremonies is to conjure the evil spirits and prevent them from coming in the night to attack the girl. The Tobas fancy that on this occasion also the *peyák* arrive with the approach of night in the shape of snakes, trying with every draught of wind to penetrate into the house and to enter into the young woman, in which case it is believed that she will become pregnant with a snake, or fall ill and die.

Ideas of the kind of supernatural birth which is brought about by evil spirits entering into the woman in the form of snakes, seem to be common among the Tobas, as may be inferred from one of their myths which I shall relate in a later chapter.

During the days that the girl is kept secluded she is also obliged to fast strictly. She is allowed to eat only the leaves of the plant *parák* (tusca, *Acacia aroma*) or of the vine *charáde*, the former raw but mashed, the latter boiled.

After the menses have passed, the mother of the girl together with other women go out on the camp to catch armadillos The men, on the other hand, go out to hunt ostriches. Thereafter a great feast is arranged, at which the women together with the girl in whose honour the feast is held eat armadillo, the men the meat of ostrich. The latter, besides, drink algaroba-beer excessively.

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The distinction which is thus made between the sexes in regard to the kind of food they have to eat at the banquet mentioned must be explained by Indian superstition. The Tobas believe that the souls of dead men reincarnate themselves in ostriches; hence the ostrich has become as it were the special symbol of the Toba men. This also appears from the fact that the Tobas have simply been called 'Ostriches' by some of their neighbours. Similarly the armadillo has, probably for the same reason, been particularly associated with the women.

The customs described above are observed when the girl in whose honour the feast is held is the daughter of a great chief. In other cases the puberty of a girl is celebrated with the *nahotti* dance which is performed on five successive nights. The young men form into a ring holding one another by the hand and dance and chant in honour of the girl, who is sitting in the middle on the ground with her face covered. During the day she has her face painted red with *urucú*. Except on the occasion of the dance, she does not leave the house and observes a fast, eating nothing but the leaves I have mentioned.

Although the first menstruation is the most critical, the Toba woman has during the following menses also to observe certain precautionary rules since she is at these periods always in a more or less delicate situation. «When a woman has her menstruation *(lolyák)*, the evil spirits *(peyák)* are angry with her«, was the declaration an Indian once gave me when we were discussing these questions. What a Toba woman always observes at such periods is to paint her face red with *urucú*, this being regarded as a protection against the supernatural enemies. She is also subjected to dieting, in that she religiously abstains from eating fish which — according to a belief at any rate held formerly by the Tobas — would entail unfortunate consequences for the woman. If a woman who is just in her monthly period eats fish — so a Toba woman declared to me — she will go mad. If that has happened and her husband, having been out hunting, should bring home a parrot, the woman will eat its head raw with the consequence that she will turn into a tiger and kill her own people. It is uncertain

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whether this belief is held any longer, but all Toba women still believe that if they eat fish at the critical epochs they expose themselves to turning temporarily mad, or to getting very thin and at the same time paunchy, that is to say, very ugly and little attractive to the men.

The aversion against eating fish among the Toba women is met with in connection with the mourning customs also. As to the ideas underlying this superstition, they will be considered in a later chapter.

7. *Social moral. Property. Law.*

A characteristic feature in the social life of the Chaco Indians is the strong feeling of solidarity which unites all members of the community. This solidarity appears to be the natural outcome of the Darwinian law, that in a hard struggle for existence such societies have the best chance to survive in which the sympathetic feelings are most strongly developed. In fact, nowhere is mutual aid more necessary than among the half-nomadic Chaco tribes, where agriculture is only practised to a small extent and where at certain times of the year, when the wild fruits run short and the fish in the river is scarce, the natives have to struggle hard to support life. Besides, the very history of the Chaco Indians proves that they have drifted into these inhospitable plains through forces over which they had no control, the chief being the pressure of the superior white race behind them. Pressed from behind and met by opposition from those already occupying these lands, they were compelled to fight for their very existence. These facts of the historic past of the Chaco tribes, and particularly of the Tobas, accounts for their warlike character but also for their strong social instincts.

The social sympathy is certainly not nowadays so strongly marked among the Tobas as among the more primitive Chorotis and Ashluslays. Yet there is everywhere an unwritten native law which bids that no single family or individual shall suffer want as long as there are others who possess eatables. Those who have been travelling and therefore are not able to produce crops, or those who for any reason have

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no means of subsistence for the time being, have a claim on the community. Even when there is nowhere a real want, the successful hunter or fisher generally shares his abundance of food with the other families of the same village. Native law also enjoins the widest hospitality, which is shown not only to fellow-villages or tribesmen but also to members of foreign tribes with which the Indians stand on a friendly footing.

In spite of the liberality which appears in the relations among the members of the community, private property is strictly respected among the Tobas as among the other Chaco Indians. «Socialism« exists in so far that the land is considered to belong to the people generally; no Indian, not even a chief, has any direct claim on any part of it over his fellows. The flocks of sheep and goats feed on the common pasture. The natural products of the country, such as game, fish, wild fruits, and firewood, are also the common property of all. But as soon as an Indian has taken a piece of this common land in possession for cultivation, his ownership to it is acknowledged and respected, at least for the time he is actually cultivating it. Similarly, of the natural products of the country everything that an Indian acquires through his own work and efforts is naturally regarded as his exclusive property. In other cases also private property is recognised. Thus the sheep and goats always bear property marks by which the Indians are able to determine who is the owner of each animal.

The Chaco tribes in general do not recognise social distinctions and distinctions between rich and poor. Even among the Tobas it is a rare thing that a man has more possessions than his fellows. Only a few great chiefs who have made successful wars may have larger flocks and more wives than the rest of their people. It is not a part of the Indian's nature to accumulate property for the future. Of food also he does not care for producing more than is absolutely necessary for present needs, and he never saves anything for the day of adversity. Only the women, who are in the first place responsible for the food-supply in the house, may save anything, at least for the nearest

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days or weeks. The seeds necessary for the next sowing are also kept by the women.

Among the Chaco Indians there is no law of inheritance, owing to the native custom of destroying a man's property, even his house, after his death.

Honesty is one of the native virtues of the Indians. Among the most primitive Chaco Indians, the Chorotis and the Ashluslays, who at the time of my stay among them were almost entirely unaffected by European civilisation, both thefts and other crimes were quite unknown. Among the Tobas thefts occasionally take place, but I am not sure whether this is not due to the influence of the whites. In the case of smaller thefts there is no public punishment; the affair is left as the private concern of the person robbed and the thief. In more serious cases the Council of the Old Men *(eakachi)* intervene, and they may subject the culprit to corporal punishment.

A casual adultery is also one of those comparatively slight offences which the offended Indian himself may punish, if he likes. It is to be noticed that in a case of adultery the offended Indian generally does not punish the seducer, but on the other hand may chastise his unfaithful wife, considering her to be more culpable.

The Council of the Old Men intervene in disputes and quarrels among the men, which may arise for various reasons and which threaten to develop into fights. Such quarrels easily arise during the great algaroba drinking-feasts, and they may sometimes turn into sanguinary fights. Then it is the duty of the women and of those elder men who are more sober to interfere and to part the quarrelling men. If in such cases an Indian is killed, this does not as a rule result in any real punishment of the slayer, because it is recognised that he committed the deed in a state of drunkeness; it is simply considered an accident. Or, the punishment only consists in the manslayer being sent away from the tribe for some time. However, if such deeds are repeated, and an Indian proves dangerous to his fellow-tribesmen, he may be expelled from the community for ever. Thus the Argentine

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Tobas, the Pilagás, had recently removed their great chief Taycolique from the leadership and expelled him from their tribe, because he constantly used to overdrink himself with algaroba-beer at the drinking-bouts and in several cases had killed people of his own tribe.

In the proper sense murders, as far as I know, are unknown among the Tobas, and blood-revenge never takes place between members of the same tribe.

8. Friendly communication with other tribes. Trade.

In Chaco there is a fairly frequent communication not only between the different villages of the same tribe, but also between different tribes who stand on a friendly footing with each other. Thus the Bolivian Tobas keep up a permanent intercourse with the Mataco-Nocténes, their neighbours in the west, with whom they also intermarry. Of more interest, however, is the inter-communication between the Tobas and the Chiriguanos, living in the neighbourhood of the Catholic Missions Tarairi, Tihüipa, and Machareti in the north-west. In connection with the visits which these Indians are in the habit of paying to the country of the Tobas I had an opportunity of studying primitive Indian trade. The Chiriguanos who belong to the great Guarani-group cannot properly be reckoned among the Chaco tribes. Both in their spiritual and their material cu ture they considerably differ from the Tobas, Chorotis, and Matacos. The Chiriguanos mainly subsist on the cultivation of maize, a cereal which cannot be much cultivated in the pampas regions of Chaco owing to the dryness of the climate. The maize is therefore greatly appeciated there. On the other hand. there is little fish to be caught in the small rivulets which flow through the country of the Chiriguanos, and the latter appreciate fish in proportion as it is scarce in their own land. But fishing as we know is the main living of the Pilcomayo tribes. These different economic conditions have given rise to a sort of primitive trade which goes on between the Chiriguanos and the Chaco tribes, especially the Tobas. This trade has essentially the character of an exchange of presents. A

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small party of Chiriguanos make the long journey from their own land to the land of the Tobas, bringing with them a couple of donkeys or horses laden with maize and sugar cane. The visit is paid to a village the inhabitants of which are known to the visitors, and it generally lasts for about one week. The provisions which the Indians have brought with them are the visiting presents. A gourd of maize and some pieces of sugar cane are awarded to each house. It is a point of honour among the Indians not to receive a present without giving something in return. The hosts therefore naturally give the guests what they themselves possess in abundance and what they know the latter will appreciate most, namely, fish. The Chaco Indians always preserve their fish in a baked or dried condition, and at the fishing-season great stores of such dried fish are generally found in the huts. The Indian, in conformity with his natural tact, of course is anxious not to favour one friend more than another, and thus a regular system of bartering with definite measures has gradually been developed. From what I observed, one small gourd of maize and two pieces of cane, each about one foot in length, answered to two dried middle-sized fishes, but in spite of any endeavour to be impartial the measures of course could only be approximate. In return, fish is brought to the visitors from all houses, and the «present« is always paid with the same amount of maize and sugar cane. This bartering goes on until the provisions which the visitors have brought with them are exhausted, when they leave with the acquired provisions of dried fish.

The Tobas of course also make similar visiting expeditions to the country of the Chiriguanos at the time of the maize-harvest, bringing dried fish, and returning with provisions of the cereal so much appreciated.

That the Indian trade essentially has the character of an exchange of presents also appears from the fact that the Indians are only supposed to barter with those whom they look upon as their friends and to whom they are paying the visit in question. It is not considered pro-

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per that outsiders, be they Indians of other villages or whites, should interfere.

I may add that my own barter with the Indians always had the character of an exchange of presents. When I visited the Indian villages where I was known, I usually received some presents of fish, fruits, etc., but it was always understood that these presents should be paid back in some form. Similarly, when I myself gave the Indians presents I usually received something in return, except when the presents — for instance the necessary presents of tobacco — were regarded as a natural tribute which I had to pay for permission to stay in the village.

Among all Indians visiting is always a more or less ceremonial matter, but in Chaco these ceremonies are comparatively simple. When the Toba Indian pays a visit in another house, and especially when he visits the house of a neighbouring tribe, he on entering only pronounces the word *nóvyi*, «I come«. The host only answers with the word *noin*, «it is good«, whereupon the guest takes a seat at the door, keeping silence until he is spoken to. This is the rule in all cases where the guest is known and regarded as a friend. If the host's wife offers him a gourd with fermented algaroba-beer *(maplyi)*, and especially if food is offered him, this is a particular sign of friendship, and he may thereafter speak and move about freely as if he were at home. — On the other hand, when the visitor is not welcome but regarded with hatred or suspicion, the Tobas turn the back and remain silent, or utter some incomprehensible menacing words. The best thing to do for a visitor so received is to leave the Indians as soon as possible, since these treacherous and daring savages would not shrink from taking his life. — When the guest leaves the house where he has paid a visit he always says: *malhék*, *giuo*, or *malhe'giuo*, «I go«, «I go back«, or *ok kiuo*, «I go back to my house«, to which the host answers: *hämóh*, «go on!«, «hurry on!«

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9. War.

The Tobas can without exaggeration be characterised as the most warlike tribe of the Gran Chaco. The history of these Indians shows that they have in former times been a real scourge to the neighbouring tribes, and the white settlers on the Pilcomayo some 20 or 30 years ago were constantly in danger of attack. In our days the Tobas have become more stationary and in the same degree more peaceful. The most warlike Toba tribe is the tribe of the Pilagás in Argentine, who have particularly waged war against the Ashluslays on the other side of the river Pilcomayo with a view to pushing them out from the possession of that river.

The most important causes of the wars among the Chaco Indians have been vendetta and trespass upon foreign dominion. Whereas blood-revenge does not take place within the same tribe, it is commonly enjoined by custom as a duty in the relation of the different tribes to each other. But behind the blood-feuds there are often earlier quarrels, especially about boundaries. In an inhospitable country like Chaco, where agriculture is rendered difficult and game is comparatively scarce, the possession of a river like the Pilcomayo, extremely rich in fish, is naturally of great importance. Many feuds have been fought out between the Chaco tribes for the possession of this river. Both for the sake of the river and for the sake of the pasture, necessary for the flocks, the Chaco tribes have fixed limits dividing the territory of one tribe from that of another. These limits are commonly recognised, and trespassing, when it is wilfully done, may become a cause of war. Father Lozano relates that the Tobas living in the region of Tucumán used a kind of boundary mark consisting of long forked poles, and that upon the points of these poles they used to hang the skulls of those who had attempted to enter foreign territory.[1]

Other causes of war among the Chaco tribes are the greed for acquiring the flocks and herds of another tribe and the desire to steal women.

[1] Lozano, *op. cit.* I. 99.

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How far witchcraft, which has so often given rise to sanguinary feuds among the Indians, has played a part in the wars of the Tobas I am not able to say.

When an attack against an enemy is planned the old men of each tribe *(eakáchi)* together with the chiefs *(alyánek)* assemble every night to deliberate in a special place outside the village. Much algaroba-beer is drunk on this occasion in order that the deliberations may lead to a happy result. In the shade of a big algaroba tree the old men invoke the «good spirit« *(peyák nóin)* so that he may give the warriors victory and protect them in the coming fight. Each sub-tribe marches out to war headed by its chief. But since these chiefs are often aged persons, too weak to perform their duty in the expedition successfully, a special leader is as a rule appointed by the old men when a war expedition is planned. This leader generally is a younger brother or some other relation of a chief, and he must of course have previously distinguished himself by courage and other warlike qualities.

The war weapons of the Tobas were formerly the bow and arrow and the club, made of hard *palo santo* wood. The latter, we are told, were as heavy as if they had been made of iron. But the Tobas early learnt to know the European horse and used horses in their wars also. According to Campos, the Tobas who belonged to the cavalry did not use bow and arrows but long lances[1]. Lances of this kind are still used for hunting the wild boar. The Toba warriors also used armour of tiger-skin and had the head adorned with plumes. Body-painting, moreover, formed an important part of the personal adornment for a war expedition. Father Lozano, describing the Tobas some two hundred years ago, says that they used to colour both the face and the body in time of war: then «they painted themselves like tigers and other formidable animals the figures of which they imagined would make them more formidable to their enemies«[2]. The Tobas

[1] Campos, *op. cit.* p. 250.
[2] Lozano, *op. cit.* I. 99.

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of the present time, before they march out to a battle, blacken the face with charcoal, while the breast, the stomach and the arms are painted red with *urucú*. According to the chief Taycolique the Indians do this in order to get more strength for the battle; but this body-painting is no doubt also intended to inspire the enemy with fear.

Before the Indians march out on the war-path they drink excessively algaroba-beer at the great drinking-bouts then held. By drinking the strong beer they believe themselves to acquire courage, strength, and resistance both against their natural enemies and supernatural powers.

The Indians in their wars do not act like a disorganised mob, but work on carefully-planned lines. Some men are sent out as spies with the object of coming as near the enemy as possible and getting all the intelligence about him they can. In their actions they exercise the greatest prudence, rarely fighting in a body and trying to overthrow the enemy with as little loss of life to themselves as possible. Treachery, assassination, and sudden attacks, generally by night, always play the main part in Indian feuds. The Tobas generally chose a moon-lit night for their attacks, believing that the waxing moon would in some mysterious way promote their undertaking. The enemy's house is surrounded in silence, whereupon the Indians suddenly enter it to kill its inhabitants. The Tobas also frequently avail themselves of the method of setting fire to the house they want to attack. All grown men and women who do not succeed in escaping are killed, the younger women and children alone being spared. The women become the wives of the victors, in the first place of course of the chiefs. The children are adopted as members of the tribe, and they readily amalgamate with it, the more so as captives are generally well treated and admitted to equal privileges with their conquerors.

Like the other Chaco Indians the Tobas have formerly been both scalp- and head-hunters. The head of the slain enemy was cut off, the scalp stripped from the skull, and both were kept as a sort of trophies.

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When the Tobas return home after a successful attack a great feast is made, at which the spoils taken on the war expedition are brought forth in triumph, dances are performed, and algaroba-beer is excessively drunk. Dances are also performed round the scalps, hung on high poles in the middle of the village, and beer is drunk from the skulls, but I have no more details about these ceremonies. The victory dance of the Tobas is the *nomi*, which is performed by the younger warriors during the day. Special honour of course is paid to the leaders. The ordinary chiefs receive confirmation of their dignity by the Council of the Old Men, and the young temporary leader, provided he has proved brave and clever, is made an ordinary chief.

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CHAPTER II.

Religious beliefs.

The Tobas have a belief in a highest god, or more strictly speaking, in two highest gods or Supreme Beings who, however, play no part in their practical religion and cult but merely figure in their myths. Moreover,the ideas they entertain about these Supreme Beings are not consistent with each other but seem to represent two different stages in the evolution of their religious thought. These beings are especially spoken of as the creators of the world and of mankind. According to the apparently older version, all things have been made by a bad deity Kaloaraik, 'The Evil One', who created the world as miserable and full of sufferings as it actually is to the mind of the Tobas. Again, according to the younger version the world owes its origin to a good deity Peritnalik, who created things good and useful and thenceforward takes benevolent care of mankind.

Since no kind of worship is paid to these Supreme Beings they rather belong to the mythology than to the religion of the Indians. I shall therefore deal with them again in a later chapter where I propose to treat of the myths of the Tobas.

In practical religion spirits of a lower order play the main part. Of these spirits there are both good and bad ones, although — as is usually the case among savage peoples — more attention is paid to the latter. These evil spirits or demons are called *peyák*, and they are exactly of the same nature as the *tunpa* of the Chiriguanos, the *aittáh* and *nahút* of the Matacos, and the *mohsek* of the Chorotis. The Tobas fancy that these spirits appear in the shape of small boys (*nätolik*), and in daily life, when speaking of these beings, they more

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often use the word *nätolik* than the word *peyák*. Although the spirits in the main have human form they at the same time bear a similarity to birds. They are provided with wings, large like those of the ostrich, so that they are able rapidly to move from one place to another. They are mostly invisible, countless in number, and evil-disposed towards mankind. All misfortunes and losses, all diseases and deaths, are by the Tobas ascribed to the mysterious operation of these demons. But happily the *peyák* only attack men at night. In the day they do not exist, having retired far to the forests and the camps, and as a rule are not then any danger to the welfare of mankind. But as soon as darkness falls they draw near, steal into the villages, dancing round the houses and visiting the inhabitants with disease and death. By different means, by conjurations, dancing, and prayers, the Indians then try to keep off the invisible molesters.

The curious idea that the evil spirits have the shape of small boys[1] has probably given rise to a cruel custom which, according to the Catholic missionary Cardús, was formerly practised by the Tobas. If young boys or girls up to ten or twelve years old became ill, and the medicine-man declared that they could not recover, they were simply killed by the blow of a club, even if the sickness was not worse than that the patients were still able to walk.[2] It is highly probable that this practice was due to the belief that such children would be changed into evil *peyák* in case they were allowed to die a natural death, and that this possibility could be prevented by killing them. This explanation is confirmed by many similar superstitions among the South American Indians.[3] The Tobas also kill

[1] Sometimes also of girls. The Toba word *nätolik* means a child in general, independent of sex, and may thus denote both a boy and a girl.

[2] Cardús, *Las misiones franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia*, p. 265.

[3] Thus the Chorotis, the neighbours of the Tobas, whom I have also visited, have the following custom as to their old men. They do not allow them to die a natural death, but when they grow weakly and sickly they kill them with an arrow-shot, whereupon they burn them with their whole property. The reason which they

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sickly and deformed infants directly after birth, and it is not improbable that this practice is connected with the same superstition.[1]

The Tobas do not deify inanimate objects of nature to the same extent as many other South American Indians. Only such natural objects and phenomena which especially strike their imagination, or with which some remarkable incidents are connected, are incidentally or permanently looked upon as being inhabited by spirits. Thus for instance near the village Tseihatanyi there is a great lagoon which according to the belief of the Indians is inhabited by *peyák*. The reason for this belief appeared to be that some time ago a large quantity of the fish in this lagoon had died from some unknown cause. Violent tempests and hurricanes, such as often occur in Chaco, as well as thunder and lightning are, according to the idea of the Tobas, directly caused by malignant *peyák*. One night during my sojourn among the Tobas a violent thunder-storm swept over the village where I stayed, stirring up clouds of dust from the river against the houses, partly destroying them, and blighting the chañar trees which were just flowering. The Indians declared that the hurricane was caused by a great number of *peyák* which were attacking the village. The following night the Tobas performed a prayer and certain conjurations with their rattle gourds in order to keep off the demons and prevent them from repeating their disastrous operation.

The thunder *(dimyí)* and the lightning *(kahonrá)* are explained in the same way: a great number of spirits pass through the clouds

gave me for practising this custom was that if an old man — *i. e.* a sorcerer; for old men are supposed to be particularly gifted with the magic art — is allowed to die a natural death, he will be changed into an evil demon who will rage in the village and kill the whole people. It must be added that the Chorotis fancy that the evil spirits, the *mohsek*, have the shape of old men, just as the Tobas believe that their *peyák* have the shape of young boys.

[1] It is a common belief among the South American Indians that sickly or deformed newborn children either have been directly conceived through the operation of a demon or at any rate are so entirely possessed by an evil spirit that it is dangerous to let them live. The same idea is held of twins. Such infants are therefore usually put to death, sometimes even buried alive.

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producing the thunder and the flash of lightning. Whirlwinds which are often seen to move along the ground raising pillars of dust and damaging the habitations are regarded as the passing of the spirits. The Tobas are in the habit of saying of such whirlwinds, «There goes a *peyák* dancing in the dust«. Drought caused by prolonged absence of rain is ascribed to the same supernatural causes: it is due to the *peyák* who are seated in the clouds and keep the rain back. These demons the Tobas do not try to expel through their usual incantations, considering that the sky is too far off for the spirits to be influenced.

The idea that the evil spirits are particularly in action at nighttime is common to all Chaco tribes and most South American Indians. The belief is not difficult to understand since the association of darkness with the mysterious and destructive powers of nature is quite natural to an undeveloped mind. Moreover, in Chaco heavy thunderstorms and hurricanes usually take place at night, and most diseases — especially diseases of the chest and the throat, from which the natives often suffer — are worse in the night than during the day.

As to the nature of these *peyák*, it is difficult to decide with certainty what kind of spirits they have been originally. The Indians themselves cannot give positive information on this point, and the etymology of the word is obscure. But there is much probability for the assumption that these mysterious beings are at bottom nothing but the souls or shades of the dead, to which supernatural powers are often ascribed. This among other things may be inferred from the fact that the spirits are believed to have the shape of boys, and that especially small boys who die prematurely are supposed to be changed into *peyák*. All dead certainly do not become such demons. This is probably the case only with such disembodied spirits as are, for one reason or another, particularly feared, or for whom the proper funeral ceremonies have not been performed. Moreover, we know that as a matter of fact such a spiritualism or animism underlies the primitive Indian religion among many South American tribes.

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Animal-worship in the proper sense of the word is unknown to the Tobas, but certain superstitions relating to animals are however held. Thus with regard to the jaguar the Tobas entertain the same belief as many other South American tribes, namely, that this beast is the favourite abode of certain evil disembodied spirits. If, for instance, the proper funeral rites have not been performed over a dead person, there is the danger that he might be changed into a man-tiger and this belief is confirmed when — as not seldom happened in former times — the tiger visits a village at night-time and kills or carries off some one of its inhabitants. The Tobas especially seem to believe that *women* are changed into such beasts. The jaguar *(nahōre, kidók)* frequently figures both in the religion and the myths of the Tobas.

The same superstition there is with regard to the ostrich, in so far that departed souls are sometimes supposed to transmigrate into these big birds. Moreover, there seems to be the idea that only the souls of *men* reincarnate themselves in ostriches; the bird has therefore, as it were, become the symbol of the Toba men. In this connection I may recall the fact that the Quichua-speaking peoples in the region of Tucumán in Argentine formerly called the Tobas by the name Juris, *i. e.* 'Ostriches' on account of their running speed.[1] *Juri* or *suri* is the Quichua word for 'ostrich'. Similarly the neighbours of the Tobas in Chaco, the Matacos, call the Tobas *Uanhlai*, an apellation which can only be translated into 'The Ostrich-men', *uanhla* being the Mataco word for 'ostrich'. Attention may also be drawn to the curious Toba custom that at the feast, with which the puberty ceremonies in honour of a chief's daughter are closed, the men must only eat meat of ostrich, whereas the women must only eat meat of armadillo.

The Toba myths also speak of the transmigration of souls into other animals and birds, into herons, deer, boars, ant-bears, rabbits, etc. Parrots, and especially the small parrot called *cata* in Spanish, are

[1] See Lafone Quevedo, *Arte de la lengua Toba.* La Plata, 1893, p. 5.

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looked upon with superstition. The evil spirits may also take the shape of snakes, and are as such especially dangerous to young women bathing in the river. A Toba myth tells of a young girl who was made supernaturally pregnant by a snake while bathing, and who thereafter gave birth to a number of snakes. When girls have their first menstruation they must be careful to cover their body well, because evil spirits are trying to enter them through the genital parts in the form of snakes, in which case either supernatural conception, or disease and death will follow. Evil demons, and especially the spirits of the dead, are also supposed to enter into fishes. Hence the women are bound to abstain from eating fish for some time after a death. On the whole, the superstitions with regard to animals particularly appear in the food-restrictions imposed upon the members of the community on certain occasions. I shall treat of these restrictions with more detail later on.

A sort of plant-worship is also met with among the Tobas as among other Chaco tribes, and this plant-worship may in a way be said to constitute perhaps the most important part of their religion. The Tobas believe that certain useful plants and trees are animated by a good spirit, a *peyák notta*, which controls their growth and causes their fruits to ripen. The spirit is thus identical with the vital power which causes the growth of the plants, just as the spirit or spiritual power which animates man causes the growth of the human body. This belief is in Chaco especially conspicuous with regard to certain wild trees, the fruits of which form the staple vegetable food of the Indians: the algaroba *(Prosopis alba)*, the chañar *(Gourliea decortitans)*, and the tusca *(Acacia aroma)*. Of cultivated plants the Tobas especially appreciate the water-melon for the same reason. Both from the latter fruit and from the algaroba, the chañar, and the tusca the Tobas are in the habit of brewing intoxicating drinks of mysterious power.

The religious ideas connected with the plants mentioned in fact particularly appear in the sacredness which is ascribed to the fermented drinks brewed from them, and in practical religion beer-drinking occurs as an important ceremony. The good spirit which anima-

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tes the plant reaches its highest point of actuality and concentration when the drink which is made of its fruits is brought to ferment, for the fermentation itself is to the Indian mind a mysterious and sacred thing. To be intoxicated by the drink is therefore equal to being internally filled with a spirit or spiritual power, and the good spirit will, according to the belief of the Indians, protect the person against supernatural evils of every kind. The Tobas are wont to say of an intoxicated person that he has a *peyák notta náppihe, i. e.* a good spirit or *peyák* in the brain (or more strictly speaking, in that special part of the brain which is nearest to the forehead). This is the true reason why the Indians celebrate every important and critical incident, birth and death, the puberty of girls, marriage, warfare, etc. among other things with excessive drinking of some fermented beer. The spirit is present in different liquors in different degrees according to the strength they possess. The best beer, to the mind of the Tobas, is the algaroba-beer, *maplyi*, because it can be made the strongest; next follows the beer made of *santia* or water-melon in importance. From chañar and tusca the Tobas only comparatively seldom brew fermented drinks. Similarly the maize-beer *(chicha)*, which plays such an important part in the religious mysteries of the Chiriguanos and of many other South American peoples, is not unknown to the Tobas but seems to be less appreciated than most other beers, since maize is but little cultivated by them.

The idea that a spirit resides in the fermented drink — an idea which is common everywhere in South America — of course is connected with the belief that the very state of ecstasy or exaltation into which man falls when intoxicated by such a drink is of mysterious or supernatural origin. The Indians believe that even in the brandy of the white man there resides a spirit, but this spirit mostly manfests itself as an evil and destructive demon. When intoxicated by brandy the Indian gets mad, addicted to fighting and outrages; on the other hand, his own native beers comparatively seldom have such bad effects. They render him happy and joyful, virile and courageous, and make

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him forget the troubles and hardships of life. Therefore it is, to the Indian mind, a *good* deity that resides in the native algaroba-beer. But since this deity first of all inspires a person with *virile* qualities, the drinking of this as well as of most other intoxicating drinks is strictly limited to the men. Women never drink of them, except perhaps some old women who are freed from the restrictions laid upon the female sex.

The great drinking festivals or mysteries of the Tobas take place during the algaroba-season when the algaroba and other important fruits grow ripe. These festivals, which are connected with dancing, will be described later on, and so also the magical ceremonies with which the sacred beers are prepared.

The heavenly bodies, the sun, the moon, and the stars, are not objects of any religious veneration among the Tobas and are not deified. However, great attention is paid to them because they have importance for counting the time, shorter periods being counted after the sun, longer periods after the moon. The moon *(avuóroik)*, although it is not regarded as the seat of a spirit, is nevertheless supposed to possess some mysterious supernatural power. Especially the new-moon has, according to the belief of the Tobas, a strong magical power by virtue of which it is able to influence and promote certain natural processes. Thus, for instance, it is a common idea among the Chaco Indians that the menstruation of the women is caused, or at least influenced, by the new-moon. Certain important undertakings, as the sowing of the fields, have better success if they are done during that time. The algaroba-beer, according to the idea of the Tobas, should be brewed at the time of the new-moon. When the sacred drink is exposed to the moon-light and stirred up with a stick, this proceeding is supposed wonderfully to promote the fermentation. Likewise, the Tobas usually undertake a war-expedition at the time of the waxing moon, not only because of the light that the moon affords at night, but also believing that the moon will favourably influence the enterprise. — Just as the new-moon and the waxing moon

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is good and propitious, so the waning moon is harmful; it has the effect of bringing everything to decrease and die out. At that time the weather turns cold, men fall ill and die, the tigers at night appear from the woods killing people, etc.

From what has been stated about the «good spirit« which is believed to animate the plants and the fermented drinks made from them it appears that the religion of the Tobas is not a pure demonology. But they also know another kind of *peyák noin* or *nōtta*,[1] which is a further proof to show that their religion is in fact dualistic in character. The *peyák nōtta* is a kind of individual guardian spirit with whom the Indian has entered into a special relation and whom he asks for assistance in sickness and in every necessity. Most of the men, and also some of the women, have such a guardian spirit and the closer the relationship is between a person and his guardian spirit, the more that person is in possession of what we should call supernatural powers. Guardian spirits are therefore first of all possessed by the medicine-men, and similarly those women who have a *peyák nōtta* exercise the profession of female sorcerers. When, for instance, the medicine-man has to cure a sick person he summons his own guardian spirit and by his aid expels the disease-demon from the patient's body. Similarly those sorcerers who practise black or nefarious magic are able to do harm to their fellows only by the aid of their assistant spirits whom they invoke and who thereafter will send off an evil spirit against their victim. Witchcraft or black magic, like white magic, thus always depends upon the co-operation of certain spirits.

The guardian spirit is not hereditary but is acquired individually, and to a certain degree through teaching. The older a person grows, the more power and influence he as a rule gains over his *peyák nōtta;* hence the medicine-men and sorcerers are generally men of advanced age. Since the women are always physically and spiritually weaker

[1] *Nōtta* (= *noin'nta*) is a comparative form of the word *noin* 'good', but is generally used by the Bolivian Tobas in a positive sense. The Argentine Tobas (Toba-Pilagá), on the other hand, more commonly use the word *noin*.

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than men, they have always more difficulty in obtaining guardian spirits. The few female sorcerers seem to be invariably aged persons, *i e.* persons who have already passed the most critical periods in the woman's life.

In their external appearance the «good spirits« are like other *peyák.* They dwell in the heavens *(piyim)*, whence they appear to the assistance of the medicine-men who invoke them. Likewise, when a Toba dies his soul is said to be brought up to *piyim*, the Paradise or realm of the dead, by his *peyák notta.* The medicine-men seem to be able to make, by the aid of their guardian spirits, incidental journeys to *piyim* even during their life-time. Prayers are addressed to these spirits and even offerings are made to them.

The sacred animal of the «good spirit« is said to be the cat. Its miauling in the night is regarded as a sign that the spirit is ready to listen to the prayers addressed to him.

The question, whether the belief of the Tobas in such a «good spirit« perhaps owes its origin to Christian influence, must be answered in the negative. The Tobas are on the whole extremely conservative in their religion and, as far as I can see, they have on this point learnt very little from the whites with whom they have come in contact. The only exception seems to be their belief in a Creator-god ,Peritnalik. But whereas the belief in Peritnalik is purely theoretical, the *peyák notta* or guardian spirits play an essential part in their practical religion. The Indians would hardly attribute such an importance to a god who had entered into their religious pantheon comparatively lately and through the influence of the whites, whom they avoid as their worst enemies. Everything speaks in favour of the assumption that the guardian spirits of the Tobas are genuine creations of their own religious imagination. Moreover, similar «good gods« or spirits are found among other Chaco tribes also, at least among the Chorotis, the Matacos, and the Ashluslays,[1] who are still less affected by the Christian civilisation than the Tobas.

[1] The Chorotis call him *mohsek eis*, the Matacos *aittáh talák*, the Ashluslays *sitché is*.

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It is generally assumed that the South American Indians, at least east of the Andes, have no idea of benevolent deities or spirits who interfere in the destiny of men, and that the conjuration of evil spirits is the only form of religious worship among them. This assumption is, no doubt, erroneous and due to superficial observation. The magical conjuration is certainly the most salient feature in their cult, but a more propitious form of worship also exists. And this is not difficult to understand. The belief in evil or harmful spirits — most of whom are nothing but souls of the dead — among the primitive Indian races has evidently originated as a generalisation of the experiences of life. The struggle for existence is often hard for them; disease and death befalls them, tempests, hurricanes and conflagrations devastate their villages and fields, the thunder and lightning strikes them, ferocious beasts kill them. In all such incidents the primitive mind, who has no definite idea of natural causation, is prone to see the operation of invisible supernatural agents. But many times the savage succeeds in overcoming the evils; he is not seldom able to cure diseases and to escape death and has learnt to restrain in different ways the attacks of nature. In all this he likewise cannot fail to see the intervention of some supernatural power who helps him to get the better of the difficulties. Such general considerations and experiences have no doubt given rise to the belief in a «good god» of the kind we encounter among the Chaco tribes.

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CHAPTER III.

Religious rites and ceremonies.

Generally speaking the Tobas know two principal forms of dealing with the spiritual powers, namely, magical conjurations of different kinds, and a sort of worship consisting in prayer and sometimes even in offerings. Of these the conjurations apparently play the far more important part, since the prayers to a great extent escape observation and are kept more secret than other religious practices.

Conjurations, generally accompanied by certain magical instruments, are first of all performed in cases of sickness to expel the disease-demons, but also on several other occasions as we shall presently see. A special kind of conjuration, which is supposed to be particularly effective, consists in dancing. Moreover, the drinking of fermented beers is often ceremonial and must then be reckoned among the magical practices.

1. *The conjuration of disease-demons (empacherón iluák, or pionák).*

Since the medicine of the Tobas is almost always a religious matter, the curing of the sick plays an important rôle in their practical religion. The Tobas make a boast of being particularly skilled curers of diseases and they also veil their medical art in greater mystery than their neighbouring tribes, a fact that is not apt to make the study of it easy. In the presence of a Christian they do not, as a rule, perform their magical operations, considering that then the patient cannot recover. Partly they fear the evil eye of the white man which will counteract and frustrate the endeavours of the medicine-man, partly they believe that in his presence the «good spirit«, from whom they ultimately expect recovery, will not appear from heaven to help.

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According to the theory of disease which the Tobas share with other Indian peoples in South America, all diseases and all disorders in the human, as indeed in the animal body are caused by evil spirits, *peyák*, who have entered into the body, and more particularly into that part of it where the evil is felt. In a case of head-ache, for instance, the demon has taken his seat in the head; if the throat or the chest is affected, these particular parts of the body have, according to the idea of the Tobas, been possessed by the invisible intruder. Affections of the throat and the chest are, in fact, most common among the Chaco Indians, especially during the dry season. The same theory of disease is adhered to even in purely surgical cases. If for instance the Toba cuts himself with his knife, he attributes the accident to the evil designs of a *peyák;* and if the wound does not heal but gets infected and bad, it is immediately clear to him that a demon has entered into it, or, as the phrase runs in similar cases: *nóchingi nätolik*, a «boy« has passed into the patient. The *peyák* attack even animals, and it is no rare thing to see a Toba trying to cure his sick horse by conjurations. If the demon is allowed to complete his work of destruction in the body, the patient's soul will be compelled to leave its abode — this is the Indian theory of death. But it is also believed that the evil intruder, having wholly gained possession of the body of the sick person, is likewise trying to get hold of his soul, with the consequence that the deceased is altogether identified with the death-demon and himself changed into a destructive spirit. This is the reason why the spirits of young boys and of medicine-men are particularly feared.

Before we proceed to examine the way in which disease-demons are conjured among the Tobas, some words may be said about the medicine-men. The medicine-man or sorcerer, *yeyátten*, is a man who has a certain power and influence over the spirits by virtue of the intimate relation in which he stands to one particular guardian spirit whom he calls his «good spirit«, *peyák notta*. The word *yeyátten* means 'one who knows' (about the spirits); even the word in-

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dicates that among the Tobas medicine is a real art which can, at least to a certain degree, be acquired through learning. Special magical initiations for would-be medicine-men, as far as I know, do not take place, nor do any particular mental qualifications seem to be necessary for entering into this profession. A medicine-man ought, however, always to be spiritually strong and possess a natural power of resistance against the evil spirits with whom he has to deal. According to the Indian view, the human body itself possesses a natural magical power owing to the spirit which animates it or rather the vital and psychical energy with which it is filled, and which is particularly concentrated in such parts as the hair and the nails, the blood, the saliva, etc. The magical power of the body is generally stronger with men than with women, and also stronger with old men than with youths. This, as pointed out before, is the reason why the women play only a secondary part in all religious ceremonies and why the sorcerers as a rule are men of advanced age. The voice also partakes of this power, and the chants which form the main part of the conjurations of the Indian sorcerers and which accompany their dances are — independently of the words uttered — supposed to possess a wonderful efficacy. He moreover ekes out his power through certain magical instruments, rattle gourds or bells, facial paintings, etc.

As to the female sorcerers, it may be added that they carry out their exorcism much in the same way as their male colleagues, but women can only cure women, whereas male sorcerers are able to cure men and women alike.

Since according to the idea of the Indians all diseases are due to possession by a spirit, their whole medical art of course aims at expelling the evil intruder from the patient's body or preventing him from entering into it. Although the demon as a rule is invisible, it is generally believed that the evil will appear from the body in some visible material form. The Tobas say that the *peyák* appears in the form of a splinter which the medicine-man at the end of

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his operation draws out from the body of the sick person. To «draw out the splinter« (*nakát kaipák*) is the ultimate aim of the medical art. If the medicine-man succeeds im extracting the visible cause of the evil, the patient will recover at least for the moment; if he does not succeed in removing the splinter, the patient is bound to die.

In the treatment of the sick different moments can be distinguished.

1:o; The conjuration proper (*empacherón*, 'conjuration', *empaché*, *pionák*, 'to conjure', 'to chant'), with which the treatment usually begins. The instrument which the medicine-man uses thereby is the *heligday*, a number of small bells attached to a circular strap of leather, which he shakes during his chant and to which some mysterious magical power is ascribed. Holding this instrument in his hand, and usually painted red or black in the face, the medicine-man comes to the patient, leans over him, puts his closed hand upon the spot of his body where the evil is felt, and mutters through it his incantation. It must be pointed out that the Indian medicine-man in his conjurations never utters many words since the voice is by itself supposed to have a magical efficacy. Sometimes his incantation merely consists of ejaculations, but generally he pronounces a few words belonging to an archaic language or to the special terminology of the medicine-man, which are not understood by common people without a special explanation.

A common conjuration in sickness is the following. The medicine-man leans over the patient and chants through his closed hand in a low voice:

Balaimi, balaimi, balaimi, balaimi,
balaimi, balaimi, balaimi, balaimi, etc.
laililá, laililá, lailí,
laililá — — — lailí, etc.

This chant is incessantly repeated, the words being pronounced slowly and expressively. During the chant the sorcerer now and then shakes his rattle close to the part of the body which is the seat of the evil. Sometimes he interrupts himself for a moment and begins to spit and blow on the same spot.

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The words *balaimi*, *laililá*, *lailí* form part of the special medical terminology and mean the same as *nalyi* = «in the night«. To understand why the sorcerer again and again repeats this expression it is necessary to call to mind what has been stated before about the operation of the demons, namely that, according to the idea of the Tobas, they attack men only at night (*nalyi*) and that in the day they do not exist, having then retired far from the habitations of men. It is the same with the disease-demons. Since most diseases are really better in the day and worse at night, the Tobas believe that in the day-time the *peyák* do not as a rule attack the patients; but with the approach of night they return and re-enter the body. It is incumbent on the medicine-man to prevent this, and most incantations and prayers as a matter of fact take place after darkness sets in. *Balaimi* is an elliptic expression and means about the same as: *nályi hämóh peyák*, «Go away in the night, demon!«, or «Demon, do not come at night!«. This chant, incessantly repeated to the accompaniment of the rattle, is supposed to keep off the invisible molester or to paralyse his operation.

Another time the medicine-man is heard to repeat over and over again the following phrase:

Hema — rá(l) — kohót, Hema — rá(l) — kohót,

Hema — ra — a — (s)ayím, Hema — ra — a — (s)ayím.

This means:

«I send (the demon) away into the woods,
I send hin into the woods;
I send him away, I send him away.«

In this chant also the words are pronounced slowly and with emphatic accentuation of certain syllables, as indicated above. The

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measure is marked through the *heligday*, which the medicine-man is shaking the whole time.

2:o. *Tok tolýgin* is the expression used for that particular moment in the treatment of the patient when the medicine-man spits and blows upon the affected part of his body. This operation is undertaken in the beginning of the treatment and is now and then repeated in the course of the operation. Its object is, as it were, to «disinfect« the sick spot and prepare it favourably for the extraction of the splinter.

The magical power which is inherent in the whole body of the medicine-man also manifests itself in his saliva and his breath. The magic which among the Indians is commonly performed through the saliva, through the blood, and through certain other secretions of the body is no doubt due to the spirit or soul which is supposed to be particularly concentrated in such secretions. As to the saliva, it is not only used as an antidote against evil spirits at the curing of diseases, but has moreover, as we shall presently find, importance as a magical ferment in the preparation of intoxicating liquors.

3:o. The invocation of the *peyák notta* or «good spirit« *(hayeyátten)*.

The invocation of the «good spirit« may enter as a continuation of the conjuration proper, but also occurs as an independent ceremony. The medicine-man does not in his operation trust entirely to his own skill, but utimately expects help from that supernatural being over whom he has acquired a special influence. It is with the aid of his guardian spirit that he succeeds in «drawing out the splinter«. The invocation of the good spirit takes place through a chant which in tone somewhat differs from the real conjuration. Nor is the rattle used at this ceremony. Certain words are sometimes pronounced in this chant, sometimes, again, the tone only indicates that a prayer is in question.

The following is an invocation to the good spirit. The medicine-man leans over the patient and chants in a low voice:

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Ho! *Ligará, ligará, ligará, ligarái.*
Ho! *Muahá, ligará, ligara, ligarái.*

Or, with a somewhat other rhythm:

Hei, hei, hī, hō, o-ho, ligara
Hei, hei, hī, hō, o-hō, ligara,
Ligara! Ligara! Ligara!, Ligara!
Hei, hei, hī, hō, o-hō, ligara, etc.

On another occasion we hear the following incantation. The medicine-man chats slowly and expressively:

Eiye, aeiye, eiye, aeiye,
Unghá, unghá, unghá, unghá.
Eiye, aeiye, eiye, aeiye,
Unghá, unghá, unghá, unghá.

Ligara is a formula of invocation and means the same as: «*Adhóma peyák nótta nakát kaipák*, «Come, good spirit, to draw out the splinter!« The same is the meaning of the expressions *eiye, aeiye* which, however, probably are not real words but merely refrains. *Unghá*, on the other hand is the same as *nóvyi* = «he is coming«. The medicine-man thus at first repeatedly invokes the spirit to descend from the heaven to assist him and thereafter immediately adds, as if to inspire himself with confidence, that he is coming. When translated into language proper the implication of the prayer is therefore:

«Come, good spirit, from the heaven to draw out the splinter!
Yes, he is coming, he is coming!«

There is also a prayer to the good spirit which consists merely in a melodious chant, no words being pronounced. One of the medicine-men always used to sing the following chant when he invoked the good spirit:

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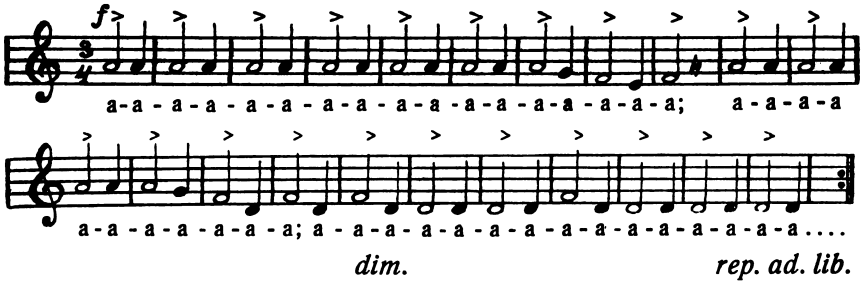

I am not quite sure whether this melody is genuinely Indian. All Indians are very fond of music and of singing, but their own production within this sphere is very poor and they readily borrow from the whites what melodies they can, since they have use for them in their conjurations.

4:o. The propitiation (?) of the demon *(Jamaranyín peyák)*.

After the conjuration of the disease-demon and the invocation of the good spirit there follows a peculiar ceremony. The demon, mortified through the previous treatment, is slowly drawn out by the medicine-man from the body of the sick person in the form of a small splinter which he shows off to the surrounding people. This moment is called: *peyák yuvóttak*, or *peyák uaiyi*, *i. e.* «the demon leaves«. But it may be that he only leaves for a while or for that night and that he will return the next to continue his destructive work. To prevent this, the demon expelled must be further treated and this takes place through an apparently peaceful negotiation with him. Turning away from the patient and pretending to hold the spirit in his hand, the medicine-man converses with him in a low muttering voice, directing, as it seems, various questions to him. Among other things he offers him tobacco, asking whether he likes to smoke. *(Koik? Koiaran koiannache?* «Do you want tobacco? Do you like to smoke a pipe?«). The medicine-man himself as well as the surrounding men answer these questions — on behalf of the spirit — through a nod of the head and a low mumbling. This conversation having gone on for a while, the medicine-man stops, and redeeming his promise as to the tobacco he lights his pipe and blows thick clouds of smoke upon the patient and all around. Thereafter he may finish his ope-

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ration or start anew with a conjuration and prayer. The proceeding is anyhow repeated every night — in severe cases, though seldom, even during the day — until the patient recovers and the demon shows that he has no longer a desire to return at night to torment him.

The most interesting point in this ceremony is the offering of the tobacco to the spirit. The Indians expressly declared that it is supposed to make the spirit «good«, or to propitiate him. From this it seems to appear that the tobacco is actually regarded as a gift to the demon. However, this character of the tobacco offering is in fact rather pretended than real. Tobacco, like coca, Indian pepper, and many other similar plants, owing to their striking effects upon the human body and mind, hold an important place in the religion and superstition of the American Indians, and it is more than probable that tobacco was among these natives used as a magical means of expelling evil spirits before it became a means of pleasure. The tobacco offering of the Tobas to the disease-demon thus has exactly the same magical character as the frequent coca offerings of the Quichuas and Aymara in the West, who for instance are in the habit of throwing quids of coca leaves into abysses and other dangerous places in order to avert the evil spirits inhabiting them. It is characteristic of the Indian way of dealing with such spirits that they give the ceremony the appearance of being a real offering or gift to the demon, although it is in fact calculated to stupefy them and to ward them off. —

In regard to the treatment of sick people it must be added that although all medicine-men operate much in the same way, they may differ from each other in certain details. Thus one medicine-man may lay more stress upon the conjuration proper *(empacherón)*, whereas another mostly has recourse to prayers *(hayeyátten)*. But however a medicine-man may operate, the assistance of the «good spirit« is always considered necessary for a successful issue of the operation. Only with the aid of his *peyák nōtta* is the sorcerer able to «remove the splinter«.

Whence the «splinter« — the material form assumed by the subdued demon — utlimately appears, is difficult to decide. But we

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may regard it as certain that the medicine-men of the Tobas are not conscious impostors, but exercise their profession *bona fide*. They firmly share the belief as to the nature of diseases and their cure which is held by the whole people, and they seem themselves largely to be the victims of self-deception or self-suggestion. In case the efforts of the medicine-man are frustrated and the patient dies, he runs no risk of being punished or even blamed by his tribesmen. The failure of his operation is only regarded as a sign that this time the «good spirit« did not allow the sick person to recover but had decided that he should die. The medicine-man himself often declares this to the relatives who thereafter give up the hope of recovery.

The Tobas often try to enhance the efficacy of the conjuration described above through *dancing* round the patient. This as well as other kinds of magical or religious dances will be described in detail in a separate chapter.

2. *Conjurations with the rattle gourd (Poketá danyakkó).*

There is hardly any important event in the life of the Tobas which is not celebrated with religious ceremonies of one kind or another. Most of these ceremonies however are simple. Dancing is frequently practised at the great festivals and on other occasions which are supposed to concern the community at large. When dancing does not take place the conjuration merely consists in chanting accompanied by the rattle of some magical instrument.

The drum *(kaltaki)* which is known to nearly all Chaco tribes is nowadays little used by the Bolivian Tobas, but seems to have been more in vogue formerly. It consists of a small clay pot which is usually partly filled with water and covered with a goat's or deer's hide. The principal magical instrument of the Tobas of the present day is the rattle gourd *(poketá)*.[1] It consists of a round bottle-gourd which is filled with seeds of tusca or some other hard seeds and the

[1] The Tobas of the Paraguayan Chaco, according to Boggiani, call this instrument *tiguitté*. Boggiani, *Compendio de etnografia Paraguaya moderna*, p. 27.

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outside of which is often ornamented with lines, triangles, squares, and other geometric figures. The strong magical power which the Indians ascribe to this instrument is probably originally due to the belief that a spirit inhabits the gourd as well as the seeds with which it is filled. Many South American Indians for the same reason ascribe magical virtues to certain plants and their fruits. Similarly, the ornamental figures with which such rattle gourds are fitted out are commonly supposed to possess some mysterious efficacy.

The most important of the occasions on which conjurations by means of the rattle gourd take place are the following:

The ceremony *poketá danyakkó* takes place *at the preparation of the fermented drinks.*

The most valued of these drinks, as already pointed out, is the algaroba-beer, *maplyí.* It is prepared with the utmost care and with certain important religious ceremonies. At this preparation there appears a strict division of labour between men and women. Although the women are not allowed to drink of the beer, they seemingly perform the largest part of the work. They collect the fruit in the forest in their large caraguatá bags and afterwards mash it in mortars in the usual way. Some old women together with the old men then chew the fruits, mixing it well with saliva, whereupon they lay it in a large cow's hide or a wooden trough. Lastly hot water is poured over it.

These preparations have required nearly a whole day to be accomplished. The most essential thing still remains, namely the fermentation, and to effect this is a duty incumbent solely upon the men, for women are not allowed to take part in conjurations. The fermentation is sacred because it means the birth af the good spirit. This now falls in the night, the time when the evil spirits move about. According to the belief of the Indians, the demons appear in great numbers in order to prevent the birth of the good spirit and interfere with the drink with the consequence that it cannot ferment but gets spoiled. Therefore special precautions must be taken for the critical

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time. The brewing of the algaroba-beer for the great festivals is a matter that concerns the whole community. Hence, at the approach of night, the men arrive from all houses with their rattle gourds, sit down round the hide or the trough, and begin to chant a noisy monotonous song without words, shaking their rattles in the time of their chant. This ceremony is called «to hurry on the algaroba« *(niapilák map)* and its object is to prevent the spirits from spoiling the beer. The chant is typical of all Indian conjurations. It begins in a loud voice; then the voice gradually diminishes, and the last tones are only heard as a low and distant muttering. Thereafter they start again from the beginning, and so forth. The chant and the shaking of the rattle is continued with short intervals during nearly the whole night. In the early morning the danger is supposed to have been passed; the fermentation has taken place and the evil demons have not been able to approach the drink and spoil it.

This is the explanation that the Indians have given of the ceremony, but it is probably not the *whole* explanation. As pointed out before, the fruits of which the drink is made is supposed to be animated by a spirit and it is no doubt this same spirit which is active in the fermented intoxicating drink. The ceremonies described therefore probably also have for their object to influence this plant-spirit through the conjuration and to bring it to its highest point of development which is marked by the fermentation. It seems to be this that the Indians really mean when they call this ceremony «to hurry on the algaroba«. This is partly effected through the chanting and the shaking of the rattles, partly through the procedure of mixing the mashed fruit with saliva. The saliva, as we know, really has the power of bringing about fermentation, and the superstitious Indian from his point of view explains this phenomenon from the supernatural virtues this secretion is supposed to possess. Even the fact that only *old* men and women engage in chewing the fruit is probably not accidental. Old people by nature have a stronger magical power than the young ones, and their saliva therefore has greater efficacy.

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In order to make the algaroba-beer stronger the Tobas put into it a rind, called *nágha*, and obtained from a tree which in their own language is called *nayi apagi*, but the scientific name of which I do not know.

The kind of conjuration which is called *poketá danyakkó* also take place in numerous other cases. It is the general way of expellir evil demons that move about at night causing diseases, tempests, thunder-storms, etc. It is a common thing in a Toba village to hear a medicine-man or some family father who is initiated in the art of sorcery shaking his rattle to the accompaniment of a ow muttered chant through a whole night with a view to keeping off the invisible supernatural foes from the houses and the village. Very often these conjurations are particularly directed against the evil spirits which give rise to destructive hurricanes and tempests. Since these usually begin at night the conjuration always takes place at that time. One of the medicine-men places himself outside the houses and chants a monotonous chant accompaning himself with the rattle. In these chants no words are pronounced; they merely consist in the repeating of syllables like a-a-a-a . . . ha-ha-ha-ha, etc. It is the voice itself that is supposed to possess the conjuring power. The chant is always begun in a loud voice which is heard far a round; then the voice gradually diminishes, so that the last tones of it are only perceived as a low mumbling. Finally one can hear only the dull sound of the rattle which the sorcerer goes on shaking uninterruptedly. After a while he starts again from the beginning in the same way as before, and so forth. This conjuration is not seldom continued with a praye directed to the «good spirit.«

Certain important incidents in the social life of the Tobas are likewise celebrated with *poketá danyakkó*. Thus, as we have already seen when a child is born in a family the father of the child, or a medicine man, must shake the rattle and chant outside the house to protect the new-born child and its mother against evil-working *peyá* The ceremonies are still more elaborate when the child belongs t

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a great chief, in which case Indians from all the houses and neighbouring villages assemble outside the chief's house, chanting all night. The same kind of conjuration takes place when the chief's daughter ...tains to puberty or has her first menstruation. Lastly, when a ...ath has taken place in the village, rattles are shaken at night for ...e purpose of averting the death-demon who is believed to move ... out in the village looking for fresh victims.

3. *Magical dances.*

...lthough among the Tobas dancing also occurs as a mere pleasure, ...out any apparent religious or magical significance, most of ...r dances are ceremonial. In fact, they have not a single dance ...ich is purely profane in character.

To point out some general peculiarities of the Indian dances in ...e Gran Chaco, we may first observe that dancing is properly only the ...en's affair, women comparatively seldom taking part in these en... ...ents. Thus among the Tobas, the women are allowed to ...co...t dances and feasts, but as a rule do not take an active part ...ith... Sometimes dances are performed in honour of the women, ...wal...ct then being to protect these weaker members of the com... ...e. ...anist supernatural evils. This passive role of the women ...id...nces no doubt is due to the fact that originally the Indian ...the... had a purely practical object, being magical ceremonies ...re ...or expel evil spirits. Since women as a rule do not take ...r a...us ceremonies and conjurations, they do not take part in ...h f... There are exceptions to this rule, and just as elderly ...ave been properly initiated and have aquired a guardian ...l to ...orm certain religious ceremonies of their own, so they ...Tor...y take an active part in certain religious dances.

...e to note that the Indian dances are not accompanied ...sak... rate not by any music in the civilised sense of the ...r tha... ...und...rs themselves chant the measure of their movements, ...her of...e same time being a conjuration. In some dances,

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especially in those which are performed to cure diseases, the chanting is also accompanied by the beating of drums or the shaking of rattles, but these instruments, which produce a hollow monotonous sound, are purely magical and are not used for the sake of affordin musical pleasure.

It is also a peculiarity of the Indian dances in Chaco that they near always take place at night or after the approach of darkness. It a rare thing to witness an Indian dance in the day-time — amo the Tobas, as we shall see, one dance, the *nomi*, forms an excepti The reason for this is to be sought in the religious character of dances. Since, as we have seen, the evil spirits are supposed to c with the approach of darkness, attacking the villages and visi the people with sickness and misfortune, this is naturally sonside the proper time for performing magical conjurations and other r ligious ceremonies.

In the following pages I shall describe in detail the different da ces performed on different occasions by the Tobas.

Nahotti. This is a ring-dance of a kind typical to the Cha dians. The dancers are ranged in a circle holding each other w arms interlaced round each other's waists, and move round or running. A monotonous chant accompanies this danc person or persons, in whose honour it is held, sit in the m the ring without taking active part in it. The *nahotti* is common dance of the Tobas and is often performed as a me ement. That it is, however, essentially of a magical characte from its very name: *nahót* (or *nahút*) is the Mataco wor spirit' and seems to have heen borrowed by the Tobas.[1]

The dance *nahotté*, among other occasions, is performe girls at puberty. It is also the marriage dance of the

[1] The Matacos themselves have the same dance and call it *nahú* ces in the Gran Chaco are in fact, as it were, international, in so fa certain main types of dances which occur among most tribes names, one particular dance being the favourite of one tribe, anot

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both these cases, as pointed out before, this dance has a religious or ceremonial character.

The idea underlying all ring-dances among the Indians is to protect the person or persons who are inside the ring against the invisible supernatural enemies to whom they are supposed to be exposed for the moment. The first menstruation is such a critical epoch in the life of a girl, and similarly marriage is one of the occasions when supernatural molesters are particularly on the alert to do harm.

Nahót dónnaran (*nahót*, 'spirit', *dónnaran*, 'to sing', 'to chant') is closely related to, or more strictly speaking, only a variation of the *nahotti*. It is first of all performed to cure diseases and is supposed to give more efficacy and emphasis to a conjuration. When in a certain case of illness the ordinary treatment of the medicine-man has failed to effect the desired result, the Tobas sometimes proceed to special measures. From all houses in the village men and women assemble in the evening outside the house of the patient, each of the men bringing his *heligday* or bell rattle with him. The sick person is carried out from the house and laid upon the open place outside it. When night approaches the people begin to dance around him, marking time with their rattles. The dancers do not hold each other by the arms, as in other dances, and observe no definite order in their movements. Jumping up and down with both feet at once and with knees bent they move forwards and backwards, to the right and to the left, yet always keeping round the patient. They accompany their dance not only with the shaking of the rattle bells but also with chanting, or rather loud shouting; in fact, the main principle in the dance seems to be to make as much noise as possible. While the others dance, the medicine-man performs his particular office. Leaning over the patient he mutters a chant of his own, uttering certain powerful words and shaking his rattle repeatedly over the part of his body which is the seat of the evil. The whole ceremony is continued, with short intervals, until midnight.

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The *nahót dónnaran* is not only danced in actual cases of illness, but also with a view to *preventing* illnesses. The Tobas perform this dance especially in the month of October, at the end of the dry season and the beginning of the wet season, the object being to keep off an epidemic disease which is said particularly to attack the women. The dance is held during several successive nights, and especially elderly women, but also young girls, take part in it. A peculiarity of this dance, as of many other Indian conjurations, is that the performance, as it were, begins gradually: the dancing, chanting, and rattling is at first slow and discreet, increasing gradually in strength until it reaches a climax, after which it again decreases. One of the sorcerers is heard gently shaking his rattle; soon he accompanies the «music« with a chant, uttered in a low voice; the chant and rattling grows louder and louder and the time faster; finally he also begins to dance. Two, three, and more men join him in the dance, lastly even the women take an active part in the ceremony, at first only dancing, but soon chanting as well. The time grows faster and faster and the whole dance more and more noisy. Suddenly one of the women falls to the ground where she remains lying motionless as if she were dead; shortly after another woman falls down in the same way, then a third, and so forth. A medicine-man appears and begins to treat the women in the usual way according as they fall, leaning over them, chanting, blowing upon them, and sucking them on the head and on the breast. The woman thus treated appears gradually to recover and after a while again takes part in the dance. In this way all of them are attended in due order by the medicine-man. While this particular conjuration goes on, the other partakers in the ceremony continue daning around the «sick« women and their curer, stamping on the ground, yelling, and violently shaking their rattles. When the excitement reaches its highest point time is no longer kept, everybody dancing as he likes, keeping his own measure. In the chant no words are pronounced, but only sounds are emitted like: ai-ai, ai-ai, ai-ai, ai-ai,

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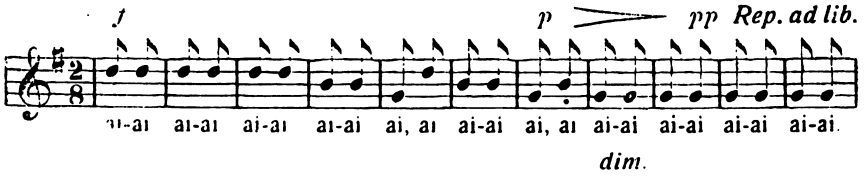
or: he-he, he-he, he-he, etc. There is, however, one dominant melody which is again and again repeated:



The first notes in this melody are always sung in a loud voice; then the voice gradually diminishes and the last notes which are repeated *ad libitum* are only heard as a low distant murmur. Thereafter the chant again commences from the beginning, and so forth.

While the main body of the dancers goes on repeating this chant, one of the sorcerers, who seems to be the leader of the ceremony and moves about more than the rest, occasionally seconds them with a somewhat different melody, his voice being heard louder than those of the rest.

The dance, which generally goes on at a very quick tempo, is of course extremely trying in the heat of the tropical night. It is probably for this reason that the dancers appear almost naked, the men wearing only the usual small waist-belt, and the women a short petticoat round the loins. Still the sweat can be seen flowing down the naked bodies in streams. This sweating, however, seems to be desired and to form a part of the «cure«: it aids in the purification from the evil spirits. The dance, which is performed by moon-light or in the light of a big fire of pampas grass, sometimes goes on without interruption for nearly an hour. Then a pause is made, after which the noisy ceremony is again continued. Like most Indian conjurations, this dance goes on from the close of the day till about midnight.

It must be added that most of the persons who take part in this magical ceremony have their faces painted in one way or another, generally with the red dye obtained from the *urucú*-plant *(Bixa orellana)*. Some girls may be seen with real ornamental patterns on their cheeks, representing, for instance, heads of arrows, teeth of

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animals, etc. These facial paintings, like all Indian body-paintings, have a purely magical significance: they serve to keep off the demons with which the dancers come into contact during the ceremony, and help to conjure them.

As to the significance of this dance, it is interesting especially from the point of view that it is *prophylactic* in character. The women are not really ill; they only pretend to be ill and are treated accordingly. The Indians gave me the following explanation. At the end of the dry season their country is usually visited by an epidemic disease, which is attended with pains in the head and in the chest, and which especially attacks the women. This illness, according to the belief of the Indians, is caused by a great number of *peyák* (evil spirits) who visit the village at night, and the dance is intended to conjure them and keep them off. Evidently it is thought that when the women are treated *in advance* for the illness, this is an efficacious means of preventing them from really falling ill.

Among the Tobas it sometimes occurs that the patient *himself* dances to cure himself, naturally only in comparatively slight cases of illness. Once I witnessed such a dance, performed by two women who seemed to suffer from rheumatic pains in the breast and the shoulders. The women jumped up and down with the feet in the usual way, but without chanting and without using rattles. The dance was led by a sorcerer who chanted and danced at first slowly and then faster, accompanying himself with his *heligday*. The small dancing party was encircled by other Indian men and women who, sitting on the ground, accompanied the dancers with chanting and shaking of rattles. The concert gradually grew louder and louder, and ultimately developed into a dreadful noise. Having danced a while, the patients laid themselves down on the ground and a medicine-man began to cure them, performing his usual conjurations, while the other men and women continued their chanting.

Whilst the dance went on another peculiar ceremony took place: a fire-brand was swung round in all directions on the place of the

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dance. A man took the brand and carried it far into the forest chanting loudly, made a big circle and lastly appeared again on the scene of the dance, chanting incessantly.

The principal idea connected with the dancing of sick persons, as the Indians explained to me, is that the evil spirit is forced to leave the body with the perspiration. It is therefore essential that the patient should go on dancing till he perspires abundantly. For the rest the principles of the dance are the same as in other similar conjurations. Again, the ceremony with the fire-brand was a purification ceremony, quite common among the Chaco tribes. Among the Tobas it is called *koyadānatti*. The evil spirit which was being conjured had thereafter to be driven off into the forest. Fire is generally considered by the Indians to be an extremely efficacious means to expel evil spirits, and the above mentioned practice is especially resorted to when a death has taken place in the village.

The Tobas dance the *nahót dónnaran* not only in cases of sickness but also in order to «hurry on« the chañar fruit *(niapilák tákkai)*. The chañar reaches maturity in the month of October and forms the staple food of the Indians during that month. The fruits gathered in during the day are spread out on clothes or big hides and are generally laid on the ground outside the huts to be dried. The dance as usual takes place at night. One which I witnessed was performed in the following way. A young man began to dance alone, stamping alternately with his feet on the ground, without using any rattle, and chanting at first in a low voice. Gradually his movements grew faster and faster, and the chant accompanying them louder and louder. Soon he seized his rattle, the *heligday*, shook it at first slowly and gradually faster, keeping time with his steps. When the dance reached its culmination, the feet of the dancer moved with an intense rapidity, the chanting developed into an inarticulate yelling, and the man seemed to have got into a real state of ecstacy. The other men also by and by took part in the dance, accelerating their movements as well as their chanting gradually like the principal dancer, and accompanying

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themselves with their rattles. In this way the noisy performance was continued for several hours. Its object, as already mentioned, was, according to the statement of the Indians, to promote the ripening of the chañar fruit. Probably the dance had particular reference to the fruits already gathered in, since the effect of all similar Indian dances usually follows according to the principle of *pars pro toto.* Through the conjuration the good spirit which is supposed to animate the plant and control its growth is favourably influenced, and the evil spirits, who are trying to blight the fruit and prevent it from ripening, are warded off.

Nomi. This is the great festival dance of the Tobas and is performed on all particularly solemn occasions, but especially during the so-called algaroba-season. The dancers thereat arrange themselves in a long line or so as to form a crescent. With arms interlaced round each other's waists they move, running alternately to the right and to the left and at the same time forwards, to the other end of the dancing place where the chain is broken. Thereafter they move back in the same way. The dancers themselves chant the measure of their steps in a loud voice. — The women do not take part in the dance, but they are allowed to be present as on-lookers.

The algaroba-season, which begins at the end of November and lasts until the end of January and gives the Chaco Indians their most important fruits, is impatiently awaited by the natives and they try to «hurry on« its coming by various magical means which are thought to influence the plant-spirits. Whereas for instance the Matacos beat the drum every night for about one month previous to the commencement of the algaroba-season proper in order to influence the plant-spirit and to expel the evil demons who try to prevent the fruit from reaching maturity, the Tobas dance their festival dance, the *nomi*, with the same view. The dance is thus supposed to «hurry on« the algaroba *(niapilák máp)* and to effect a good harvest. During the season proper the dance goes on daily and is believed continually to influence the fruits. Generally only the younger men take part in the

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dance, with which courtship is connected, whereas the old men occupy themselves with drinking the beer made of the sacred fruit, the *aloja* or *maplyí*.

However, during the Indian carnival season the *nomí* is not merely danced for the sake of effecting a good harvest but also with another object. The Tobas believe that at this happy and joyful time they receive invisible guests in great numbers. These are the spirits of the dead — called *kadepakál* (the shades), or *ilúh* (the dead) — who also want to be present at the merry festivals and to take part in the drinking-bouts. But these guests, who awake uncanny feelings in the living and may even be dangerous to them, are not welcome and do not receive any sort of cult. On the contrary, measures are taken to keep them off, and according to the statement of the Indians this is partly the object of the dance *nomí*. The dancing men through their movements and their loud chanting prevent the dead from approaching the villages, or the place where the drinking and feasting goes on.

A peculiarity of the *nomí* is, that it is the only Indian dance which takes place in the day-time. In fact, it is *always* performed in the day, just as other dances are always performed at night. The reason for this I am not quite sure about, but it is probably to be sought in the particular character of this dance. The dances which I have mentioned before are performed in individual cases of possession, with a view to conjuring demons actually present. Hence they take place at night, the proper time for the evil spirits. *Nomi*, on the other hand, has a more general character, its object apparently being to influence the invisible enemies while they are still far away in the woods, and to *prevent* them from coming in the evening. This intention seems to appear even from the movements of the dance in which the Indians, as it were, oppose themselves to the evil spirits.

Various other important incidents which are supposed to concern the community at large are celebrated with the festival dance *nomí*. Thus when the chief's wife is in child-bed the conjuration with the *poketá* and the drinking-bouts are not the only ceremonies that take place.

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In the day the younger men of the community dance *nomí*, and this is continued every day until the critical time is passed for the mother and the child. Similarly, when the chief's daughter has attained to the age of puberty and is kept secluded in the house, the *nomí* is performed every *day*, whereas the conjuration *poketá danyakkó* takes place every *night*. That in such cases the dance is ceremonial is beyond doubt. Its object is probably to influence the spirits at a distance and prevent them from approaching the village at night, just as the object of the rattle shaking and the chanting in the evening is to conjure them when already present.

The Tobas, as mentioned before, have a councel of the oldest men in each tribe, called *eakáchi*, who have to nominate the chiefs and to oversee their doings, and who sometimes assemble to deliberate upon war expeditions and other important undertakings. These old men prepare themselves for the deliberations by intoxicating themselves with algaroba-beer, and when a decision has been made the younger men moreover dance the festival dance *nomí* in the day. This is especially the case when a chief and war-leader has been elected. Among belligerent peoples like the Tobas the chiefs naturally have great importance. They are official personages who are believed to be more exposed to evil influences than other people. Their nomination is therefore attended by certain religious ceremonies the object of which is to keep off maglignant supernatural powers and to secure good luck for them and the whole community.

At the great feast which is held before marching out to battle dancing likewise plays a prominent part. For some days previously the *nomí* is danced, and the men moreover prepare themselves for the undertaking by consuming algaroba-beer in large quantities. These ceremonies, which also have a magical significance, can easily be explained from the ideas the Indians entertain about warfare in general. The Indian in fact believes that in the battle he has not only to deal with his natural enemies but also, and even more, with malevolent supernatural powers to whose operation he ascribes every

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wound he receives, every accident and misfortune that happens to him there. The dancing is in reality only one of the different means by which he tries to protect himself against these mysterious dangers.

A similar feast, consisting in dancing and excessive beer-drinking, is held after a war has been successfully carried out.

Nahōre, the «tiger-dance« (*nahōre* = 'tiger'). I have mentioned before that the dance which the Tobas call *nahót dónnaran* is sometimes prophylactic in character, its object being to *prevent* illnesses. The *nahōre* or «tiger-dance« is another prophylactic dance of these Indians and is performed about the same time as the *nahót dónnaran*. The persons taking part in this dance are young men and women. They are arranged in a circle, boys and girls alternately. In the middle of the circle some elderly women are sitting. Each of the boys has a big cloth in his hand. Like other Indian conjurations this dance begins slowly, the tempo gradually growing faster. At first the dancers only walk one behind the other in a circle, each boy now and then lashing the girl in front of him on the loins with his cloth. Soon they begin to leap, faster and faster, and the lashes on the loins of the girls likewise follow quicker and quicker. Suddenly one of them falls to the ground where she remains lying motionless as if she were dead; then a second falls, thereafter a third, and so forth in the same way as in the *nahót dónnaran*. A medicine-man, who represents the tiger, appears and begins to treat the girls in turn according as they fall. He puts his mouth to the girl's breast, sucks it on two spots and blows on it, after which he spits out what he pretends to extract. Then he treats the head in the same way, sucking it and blowing on it. The girl thus «cured« appears to recover, rests for a while, and again takes part in the dance. This procedure is repeated with all girls successively. The dance is continued with short pauses for several hours. Like most Indian dances it always takes place in the evening.

The *nahōre*, as we find, bears a certain resemblance to the *nahót dónnaran*. It differs however from the latter dance in certain points. In the *nahōre* no rattles are used, nor do the partakers in this ceremony

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chant. They simply go on jumping, the boys lashing the girls, only now and then encouraging one another with exclamations and accompanying each lash of the cloth with an emphatic *sch!* Similarly the medicine-man who acts as tiger *(nahōre)*, departs from his usual method of curing sick people in so far that he neither chants nor uses his rattle, contenting himself with sucking the patient on the supposed seat of the evil. When he wanders among the women curing them he now and then gives a sound resembling the grunting of the tiger when it roams about in the night searching for prey: *yäna, yäna, yäna.*

This pantomimic dance has much the same serious magical significance as the *nahót dónnaran:* its object is to protect the women against the tiger or to save them from falling victims to it. This is effected by representing an encounter between them in a euphemistic way. The woman who has met the animal in the woods tries to escape it by flight, but soon falls exhausted to the ground and seems helplessly lost. But in the dance the tiger is a benevolent being. He does not harm the woman; on the contrary he cures her. The idea, in fact, seems to be that by the tiger itself remedying the evils which it inflicts, this will in real life be a safe-guard against the feared beast. To understand the ceremony fully we must know the superstitions the Indians have about the tiger. The Tobas, like most South American Indians who are acquainted with the jaguar, regard it as an incarnation of an evil spirit. It is commonly believed that certain persons are changed into jaguars after death, and this belief is confirmed when — as sometimes may happen — the beast visits a village at night and kills some of its inhabitants. The way in which the girls are treated by the medicine-man in the *nahore* dance — by sucking, etc. — shows that the evil afflicting them is supposed to have been caused by a demon which has taken possession of them.

The cloth with which the boys lash the girls on the loins in this dance plays much the same parts as the rattle in other dances. The object of the lashing is to purify the girls from the evil demon and to chase it away. Striking or lashing with a whip or a cloth is in South Ame-

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rica largely practised as a means of purifying from evil spirits, and especially takes place at death-feasts. The object of such lashing ceremonies is no doubt to purify the mourners from the death-demons which are especially supposed to mix in the blood. The lashing with the cloth in the *nahōre* dance of the Tobas has a similar aim.

In this connection I may mention a ceremonial dance of much the same kind, which was told me by a Bolivian settler who had lived for some time in the land of the Tobas. An Indian man had been taken ill or had fallen a victim to some accident whilst wandering in the forest. He was carried home by his comrades, whereupon the following curative ceremony took place. The sick Indian lay on the ground groaning with pain. The other Indians started to dance round him, leaping on all fours, imitating in their movements and in the sounds which they produced certain big animals of the forest: one imitated the tiger, another the lion (puma), a third the fox, a fourth some fourth animal, and so on. Now and then the dancers stopped, leant over the sick man and began to suck at him and blow on the seat of the pain. — The close resemblance of this dance to the *nahore* just described is conspicuous. Evidently it was believed that a beast of the wood, or rather the evil demon incarnated in it, had caused the evil, and not knowing with certainty which particular animal it was, the Indians considered it necessary to represent several of them in the pantomimic dance. The principle in such ceremonies is, that when the animal itself cures the evils it has inflicted recovery will follow with more certainty.

The idea of the Tobas, that certain animals, or animal spirits, may cause disease by entering into the body, is also found among other tribes in South America and seems especially to be common among the North American Indians.

4. Prayer and offering.

From my previous statements it appears that prayers play an essential part in the practical religion of the Tobas. It is in the

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way of prayer (*hayeyátten*) that the medicine-man or sorcerer summons his guardian spirit to help him to subdue the evil demons. How the medicine-men pray when they are curing sick people we have already seen. It is a kind of chant in which sometimes a few words are incessantly repeated, sometimes, again, no words at all are pronounced, the devotional tone alone indicating that a prayer is in question.

When a medicine-man cures a sick person it is as a rule only the former and not the patient that prays to the deity. In prolonged cases of sickness it is, however, no rare thing to see suffering patients themselves praying to their guardian spirits for help and alleviation. A common prayer formula in such cases is the following:

Agaí nō, achí mah hey,

the meaning of which is about this:

«(Good spirit), let no more evil befall me, I have already suffered much!«

Or, in an abbreviated form:

Agaí notta,

«I suffer, may (the good spirit let) the evil subside!«

On one occasion I saw a young Toba man, who suddenly had turned almost totally blind on account of some severe disease of the eyes, saying this prayer to his good spirit. Sitting on the ground, with his head bent down and with trembling knees, he repeated these words in a low voice for many hours.

In other cases of affliction prayers to the good spirit take place much in the same way, but it is only seldom that one is able to be present at this worship and clearly to hear the words that are uttered. Sometimes the ceremony begins with a conjuration (*poketá danyakkó*) directed against the evil spirits and is thereafter continued with a prayer addressed to the good spirit. Thus once I witnessed a conjuration in the evening performed by a sorcerer with the rattle

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gourd, the object of which was to prevent the feared outburst of a hurricane which would be destructive to the flowering trees. Having shaken his rattle and chanted for a while the sorcerer stopped. A while later on the miauling of a cat, the sacred animal of the *peyák notta*, was heard and at once he continued with a prayer chant addressed to the spirit. That he was saying a prayer could readily be inferred from the devotional tone and the absence of any rattle accompaniment. The chant soon developed into a real conversation with the deity, carried out in a low voice. The words uttered could not be perceived, but the spirit was besought to be good and to ward off the destructive demons from the village. — The Indians confirmed that such prayers are sometimes performed in oder to stop or prevent foul weathers.

When afflicted by a heavy sand-storm or tempest the Tobas are also in the habit of uttering the abbreviated prayer formula:

Agai, nŏtta,

«It hurts me (I suffer), may the evil subside«.

Lastly, the Tobas prepare themselves for a war expedition or battle not only through different kinds of conjurations, but also through prayers addressed to the *peyák nŏtta* of the war.

Real sacrifices are completely unknown to the Tobas as to most other South American Indians, and about other kinds of offerings there is not much to say. I have mentioned the tobacco offering which the Toba medicine-men are in the habit of making to the disease-demon when expelling him from the body of the patient. As pointed out, this offering is only seemingly a gift to the spirit; its real object is to stupefy him and to help to subdue him, since the tobacco is by the Indians regarded as a powerful antidote against evil spirits. Such magical offerings are quite common in South America.

The guardian spirits which most Toba men are believed to possess are not only propitiated with prayers but sometimes also with real offerings. The spirit seems to be somewhat capricious and does not

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always listen to the prayers addressed to him. It therefore happens that a Toba, when afflicted by a severe disease, begins to negotiate with his tutelary deity, promising to give him a gift, for instance a poncho (mantle), a waist-belt, or some other valuable thing in compensation if he would come and cure him. The Indian puts these things in a bag and hangs them up in a tree or some other place outside the house as offerings to the deity. — These votive offerings for recovering health are the only kind of sacrifices in vogue among the Tobas.

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CHAPTER IV.

Ceremonial fasting.

From previous statements it appears that fasting plays an important part among the religious practices of the Toba Indians. In most cases ceremonial fasting, both among the Tobas and among other South American Indians, seems to be due to the belief that in eating man may come in contact with dangerous disease-bringing spirits which are attached to the food. Since the evil spirits are supposed to have a special liking for certain kinds of food, or are at certain times in some other way associated with them, these kinds of food are occasionally tabooed to the Indians. The common belief that the spirits of the dead reincarnate themselves in various animals has in the first place given rise to all sorts of food-restrictions, for the meat of such animals is generally, although not invariably, regarded as taboo.

If disease- and death-bringing demons are supposed easily to enter into the body with the food eaten, we can understand why eating is so often to the Indian a ceremonial business. This is also intelligible from the point of view that by eating an animal and coming in contact with its soul, man may acquire the spiritual qualities of that animal. This idea explains the curious custom, mentioned above, that at the great feast which is held when a chief's daughter attains puberty, the men only have to eat the meat of ostrich, whereas the women have to eat the meat of armadillo. As a general rule, both among the Tobas and among other South American Indians, men and women do not eat together but separately, the men first and the women afterwards. This custom is so strictly observed, that one may suspect that there

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is a particular superstition behind it. Moreover, while the Indians eat they do not speak much with each other and do not like to be spoken to. Since they believe that man may evade evil spirits by keeping silence and avoiding to attract their attention, it is possible that the ceremonial character of their banquets is partly connected with this idea. And as women are especially believed to attract the spirits, this may be, or have originally been, one reason why the men avoid eating together with them. But it should also be remembered that, according to primitive belief, eating together is considered to establish a mysterious union or connection between all those taking part in the common banquet. Since a strict distinction is made between a man's and a woman's spiritual qualities, it is not difficult to understand that the men should avoid the company of their women at those more or less critical occasions when they are eating. Both the one idea and the other may have been present to the Indian mind. In any case, it is now impossible to get a positive explanation from the Indians themselves as to their real motives for observing this ancient custom.

When a person, and particularly a woman, is in some peculiar or critical situation, she must be more careful than otherwise with regard to the food eaten. Often complete fasting is prescribed in such cases.

We have seen what ceremonies are performed with a girl when she reaches the age of puberty. Strict fasting is the most important of the rules she has to observe at this critical epoch of her life. She must abstain from fish and meat and is only allowed to eat the leaves of the tree tusca *(Acacia aroma)* and the shrub mistol *(Sisyphus mistol)*.

The principle seems to be, that the menstruous girl must abstain from heavy and indigestible kinds of food through which evil demons may get an opportunity to do her harm. But is is also probable that certain mysterious prophylactic properties are ascribed to the leaves of the tusca tree and the shrub mistol, both of which play a part in the religion of the Indians.

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A Toba woman, as we have seen, is always bound to diet during her menstrual periods, since she is then more or less exposed to supernatural dangers. She carefully abstains from eating fish and meat and only feeds on a dish prepared of boiled maize, called *euóhi*. An infringement of these rules of diet is likely to bring the terrible consequences which have been mentioned above. Thus the eating of the head of a parrot during the critical days may cause her to go mad and to be changed into a tiger. Similar rules of diet are prescribed for a woman when she is in child-bed. Even some time before the birth she must be careful with her food; otherwise delivery will be rendered more difficult. On this occasion also she must abstain from fish and only eats boiled maize *(euóhi)*. Similarly the father of the child must abstain from particularly unsuitable food, for instance the head of a cow.

Again, after a man has died, his widow, daughter, and other female relatives likewise carefully avoid eating fish. If they infringe this rule, they will, according to the belief of the Tobas, sicken and die or go mad. Instead of fish, maize is eaten. Even some of the men observe the same custom, abstaining from fish for some time after the death of a relative.

All these food-restrictions are, no doubt, based upon the same idea, namely, that evil spirits may hide in the forbidden food and gain intrance into the body if it is eaten. At any rate spirits are in some way associated with the food. With regard to the fish this is expressly stated. It is a curious fact that fish, which makes the principal food of the Tobas, is so religiously shunned on certain occasions. Behind this superstition there are undoubtedly real experiences as to the harmful effects that the eating of fish may bring in some cases. Thus the Tobas assert that incautious eating of fish at the beginning of the wet season is likely to cause malarial fever. What is particularly dangerous in the fish, as the Indians told me, is the belly; an evil spirit may hide in it. Therefore a person must abstain from eating this kind of food when he or she is in a delicate condition and exposed to the attacks of

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supernatural enemies. After a death it is the death-demon that is believed to have taken up its abode in the belly of the fish.[1] That the rules of diet, both in regard to fish and in regard to other kinds of food, are always more strict for the women than for the men, is due to the belief that the former have by nature less power of resistance against evil spirits than the latter.

The superstitious fear of eating the *heads* of certain animals, as of a parrot and of a cow, probably also has an animistic basis. According to primitive belief the soul or vital power of the body is particularly concentrated in the hair and the head. The heads of animals of which superstitious ideas are held are therefore taboo as food. That the head of a cow should be shunned is not difficult to understand since the Indians generally have a superstitious fear of animals which have been imported by the whites. The most savage tribes in South America do not eat such animals at all.

I have mentioned the most important food-regulations prescribed by custom among the Tobas on different occasions, but other similar superstitions of course exist. Thus the Toba men as a rule do not eat the boar, although the flesh of this animal makes a very tasteful food; only the women eat it. This may possibly be due to the idea that the boar is a «female« animal, just as is the armadillo. At any rate there is the belief that the souls of women sometimes reincarnate themselves in the boar. All Chaco Indians likewise have an aversion against eating the blood or milk of animals, and the eggs of hens and other birds. The Indians could give me no explanation as to this superstition, and it is possible that the original reasons for it are now forgotten. It is however highly probable that they shun blood and milk because they believe that the spirit or soul of the animals is seated in them. This at any rate is the belief held

[1] That this is a very old superstition among the Tobas, may be inferred from the fact that it is mentioned by Father Lozano from among the ancient Tobas of Tucumán. The most important rule of diet a widow had to observe after the death of her husband was to abstain from eating fish.

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of blood, which therefore plays an important part in native religion and superstition.[1] For similar reasons the Indians may originally have abstained from eating eggs. At least in some parts of America there prevails the belief that in the human and animal embryo or foetus the spirit is concentrated in the same way as the spirit or vital power of a tree is concentrated in its fruits. Hence for instance among the Indians of the Andes, the Quichuas and the Aimaras, the foetus of certain animals are used as magical offerings to avert evils.

On the other hand, many animals which a white man would not like to eat, as for instance lizards, rats, locust, etc., are by the Indians regarded as a most delicious kind of food. As a general rule we may say, that the ideas which the Indians entertain as to the fitness or unfitness of animals as food nearly always depend on some deep-seated superstitions.

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[1] As to milk, compare what Mr. Grubb says about the same superstition among the Lenguas. »Milk, whether of the cow, goat, sheep, or mare, is never drunk. The older people seem to consider it unfit for them, and children are forbidden it because it is supposed that the milk upon which they are nourished will influence them physically as well as in character, and the Indians have no desire that their children should in any way acquire the natures of such animals.» Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land*, p. 137.

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CHAPTER V.

Tattooing and body-painting.

Tattooing and body-painting are not among the Indians merely means of personal decoration but have a magical significance. The practicc of making indelible marks upon the body or the face has formerly been in vogue among all Toba tribes as among other peoples of the Guaycurú-group; but the Bolivian Tobas of the present day have dropped the custom, contenting themselves with simple body-painting. On the other hand, the Toba-Pilagás and other Toba tribes in Argentine and Paraguay still practise tattooing. It is always limited to the female sex, which seems to be the rule among most Chaco tribes. According to d'Orbigny, tattooing was performed with the Toba girls when they attained puberty and became marriageable.[1] Since tattooing is no longer practised by the Bolivian Tobas, I have not seen how the operation is performed among them. The procedure is much the same everywhere in the Gran Chaco. Among the Chorotis, where I have studied it myself, ashes is the matter rubbed into the incisions made in the face. The custom of tattooing, as it was practised by the ancient Guaycurús, is described in detail by Father Dobrizhoffer.[2]

The Bolivian Tobas nowadays practise *body-painting* instead of tattooing. Both men and women paint their body and face on various occasions, but the latter do it more commonly. The favourite colour

[1] d'Orbigny, *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale*, IV. 233.

[2] Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones*, II. 19, 20. According to this author, »fresh ashes», or »ashes mixed with blood» were used for tattooing.

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of the Tobas is the red or vermilion, the paint being obtained from the seeds of the shrub *Bixa orellana*. But this beautiful shrub does not grow in the Gran Chaco. The Chaco tribes only obtain the paint so highly appreciated from other Indians in the north through the inter-tribal commerce.

The Tobas also are in the habit of blackening their face with soot or charcoal on certain occasions.

The typical way of painting the face both for men and women is either to colour the whole face and forehead red with roucou, or only to apply red spots to the cheeks, to the nose, and above the eyes with the same dye. But besides this facial painting the Toba women — seldom the men — are wont to make special patterns or ornaments upon their cheeks on certain occasions. The patterns used by the Tobas however seem to be comparatively few in number; we do not find among them the same abundance of different patterns as for instance among the Chorotis and the Ashluslays. Custom does not require that any special kinds of patterns should be applied on special occasions. Every woman, for instance for a religious dance or feast, paints upon her face what ornaments she likes and invents for the moment.

If one asks a Toba girl why she paints herself in the face, she will in most cases simply give the answer that it is considered beautiful, sometimes again say that it is to please and attract the men. When I asked other people about the matter I was told that the Toba girls paint themselves when they are particularly desirous of a man. Yet it was perfectly clear that this cannot have been the only motive for thus decorating the face, for facial painting was not practised only by unmarried girls but also by young married women who ought not to have had any reason to put on such an outward sign for the men. As a matter of fact, on closer inquiry I found that the Toba women are in the habit of painting themselves *at the time of their menses*, in order to have a protective charm against the evil influences of which they then especially stand in fear. The ideas which induce the Indian

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woman to paint herself in the face during menstruation are the same as those which have given rise to the custom of secluding her and covering her ventral parts and her head during the first menstruation and during child-birth. Next to the genitals, the uncovered face is the most critical part of the human body, and it is a universal Indian belief that evil spirits may enter the body through such natural openings as the mouth, the nostrils, the eyes, and the ears. Yet the statement that the Toba girls paint themselves to attract the men contains some truth. The Indian woman as a matter of fact is most desirous of a man during her menstrual periods. We can therefore understand how this desire has — in the case of unmarried girls — come to act as a secondary motive for facial painting. The face-painting of the Toba women thus gives us one instance of the numerous ways in which secondary motives may rise in the evolution of customs.

A young Toba woman during her menstruation appeared with a couple of arrow-heads painted on each cheek with the points directed outwards as if to avert some evil influences. Another on each cheek had an ornament apparently representing an open mouth, probably of some wild animal, showing the teeth. Both arrows and teeth of animals play an important part as magical charms in South America.

The magical significance of body-painting is also obvious in cases where it is put on for purely religious dances and other kinds of conjurations. Thus most of the men and women who take part in the magical dance *nohót dómaran* are painted in the face, generally having the whole face crudely smeared with the red dye, or blackened with charcoal, but sometimes even wearing special patterns or ornaments. The object of such facial paintings is to afford a protection against the evil spirits to whom the dancers enter into relation, and to aid in their conjuration. Similarly, when the medicine-men proceed to exercise their profession in curing sick people, they are frequently painted red or black in the face.

The Tobas moreover practise body-painting on mourning occasions, and not merely to display their sorrow, but to frighten away the

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death-demon. When a man, especially an old man, dies, his widow, daughters, and other female relatives blacken their faces with charcoal. In a case which came under my notice a woman blackened her face in this way at the same moment as her father died. The spirit of the dead, which is always feared, is believed to be most dangerous to the relatives at the moment when it leaves the body. It may pass into them and cause their death, and as women are always more exposed to supernatural dangers of every kind than men they have naturally to be more careful. But the spirit shuns the blackened face. It may be that the odd appearance which the charcoal gives the face acts as a deterrent; but probably some mysterious magical properties are also ascribed to the soot or charcool itself. Black is held to be a more powerful means of inspiring evil demons with fear than other colours; hence it has especially become the «colour of sorrow«; for the spirits of the recently departed, or the demons who cause disease and death, are, after all, the most dreaded of all supernatural beings.

Even ornamental painting may be applied after a death. Thus an old woman had painted a small arrow in brown colour on each cheek in the evening of the day a brother of hers had died. The true significance of this face-painting may be inferred from the fact that in the same evening all inhabitants of the village carried arrows or sticks in their hands when they moved about outside their huts, and that the nearest relatives of the dead, who had abandoned the house of death, had made themselves a whole fence of arrows stuck in the ground, inside which they spent the night. The object of these precautions was professedly to keep off the death-demon, and the same was certainly the object of the ornamental arrows painted on the woman's cheeks. The Indians in fact believe that they can intimidate their supernatural foes in the same way as their natural enemies.

Lastly the Toba men are in the habit of painting their body before they march out to battle — a custom which prevails among all Chaco tribes, indeed, among most South American Indians. The whole face is blackened with charcoal; the breast, the stomach, and the arms,

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on the other hand, are painted red with roucou. The object of this body-painting, is not to embellish the body, nor exclusively to make the Indians more terrible in appearance to their enemies, although this idea also may be present. It has first of all a magical significance. When I asked a Toba chief as to their reasons for practising this custom, he answered that the Indians paint their body for a battle «in order to get more strength«. It is possible that the red dye, owing to its resemblance to blood, is supposed to be able directly to import strength to the body. But the statement no doubt also implies that the painting is regarded as a magical protection against the evil demons which cause weakness and fatigue in the battle. Similarly the Indian is wont to say that bleeding strengthens for instance the arm, when he means that the demon which causes its weakness is removed with the blood drawn. Body-painting for a battle among the Tobas thus forms part and parcel of their other magical war ornaments and war ceremonies, described in a previous chapter. Their object is to enhance the warrior's strength and power of resistance both against natural enemies and supernatural powers.

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CHAPTER VI.

Ideas of a future life. Funeral and mourning customs.

The Tobas certainly do not believe in the immortality of the soul, an expression often abused especially by Christian missionaries. On the other hand, the conviction of the continued existence of the soul after death is a positive dogma in their religion. Their ideas of the future life are much the same as are found among most uncivilised peoples. Man is, as it were, a double being; in the visible body there resides a shadow-like being, mostly invisible, which is its principle of life and whose particular seat is the chest. That the soul is thought of as being in its nature a shadow-like form appears even from the name by which it is called: *kadepakál.* '*Pakál*' means 'shadow'; '*kad(e)*' is in the Toba language the possessive pronoun for the first person plural and is used as a prefix for all words which denote parts of the human body. *Kadepakál* thus simply means 'Our (*i. e.* the human) shadow.' When man is asleep this ethereal being is supposed to have left its abode for the moment, and what he experiences in his dreams is believed to be really experienced by the soul during its wandering. When he awakes it returns to the body. In death, on the other hand, the soul has left its abode for ever. This is the work of the evil demon who entered into the body causing disease and death.

Leaving its bodily frame at the moment of death, the soul is set free to an active and independent existence and is changed into a supernatural being which the Indians mostly fear. The ideas which the Tobas entertain about the existence and activity of the soul after death are in some respects contradictory. According to the primitive notion, which certainly is still held, the soul after its separation from the body hovers about its old abode and the house where the departed

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had lived, being then particularly dangerous to the surviving relatives. This danger is greatest before the deceased has been buried. The Tobas also fancy that the soul follows the body to the grave, and their burial customs in fact seem particularly to aim at interring the soul together with the body. But this belief appears not to be quite consistent with another idea held by the Tobas as to the destiny of the soul after death. They moreover believe in a general resting-place or realm of the dead, where the departed souls are assembled. When a man dies, his «good spirit« *(peyák notta)* takes his soul, *kadepakál*, to the Paradise of the Tobas. This Paradise is in the heavens and is called *piyim (piyim* = heaven*)*. It is situated in the East where the sun rises. The *piyim* does not, however, altogether coincide with the material heavens. It is farther off, *above* the heavens, for «upon the visible heavens the sun dies at night, but in the happy resting-place of the dead Tobas the sun never dies«. Night and darkness does not exist there, day and sunshine continually reigns. In the *piyim* there are great villages and nice houses, fish and other eatables abound, the men are constantly drinking algaroba-beer and maize-beer. Disease and death and other evils which embitter the earthly life do not exist there. The men also marry and beget children there, for both men and women are brought to *piyim* after death. — In short, in the ideas which the Tobas entertain about a Paradise or realm of the dead we find a simple idealisation of earthly conditions. As the Tobas themselves expressed their view on this point: since the earthly life is connected with so many evils we imagine that the future life must be so much better and happier.

I may add that the ideas of the Tobas about a Paradise and the future destiny of the soul have nothing to do with moral considerations. Every Toba is brought to *piyim* after death, independently of the good or bad character he showed during life. Likewise, his social position makes no difference in his destiny after death.

The Tobas are the only tribe in the Pilcomayo region who have developed a theory about a special resting-place for the dead. The Matacos,

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the Chorotis, and the Ashluslay simply believe that the soul remains in the neighbourhood of the dead body, or that it hovers about somewhere on the earth. The Chiriguanos in the north, on the other hand, who are more advanced in culture, believe in a similar Paradise for the departed souls as the Tobas. Yet there is no reason to assume that the latter Indians have borrowed their notion of the *piyim* from the Chiriguanos. Such ideas about the future state of the dead, as we know, are held by many uncivilised peoples in different parts of the world and must be regarded as a natural outcome of religious evolution.

In any case it seems clear that the idea of *piyim*, where the departed soul is inmediately brought, and from whence it does not return, is inconsistent with the precautions which the Tobas on the other hand take to inter the soul together with the body, to drive it away from the village, etc. This contradiction may partly be due to the fact that the latter more primitive idea has not yet lost its hold upon the mind of the Tobas and not been wholly supplanted by the younger notion about the heavenly resting-place. But with regard to the funeral and mourning customs it is, moreover, necessary to make a distinction between *the soul of the dead* and *the evil demon who caused the patient's death* by entering into his body. Many of the rites and ceremonies which are performed at the funeral and afterwards are in fact directed more against the latter than against the former. When, for instance, an epidemic rages in a village it is believed that it is visited by an evil demon who wanders about attacking and killing people. The demon is not contented with taking one man's life, but is believed to look for more victims, and the nearest relatives of the dead are then especially in danger. However, practically the difference between such disease- and death-demons and the spirit of the dead is not always clearly upheld. The Tobas also believe that the disease-demon, having once got possession of the patient and caused his death, will thereafter remain in his body and, moreover, seize his spirit or soul as well, with the result that he is himself altogether changed into an evil

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demon independently of what has been his character in life. This propensity of the death-demon, to identify himself with the deceased, makes the Indian ideas about the spirits of the departed more complicated, and also explains why persons who in their life-time have perhaps been loved and esteemed, are after death feared as malignant and dangerous beings. This change has taken place owing to the operation of the strange demon who invaded the deceased. The greater a magical power a person has had in life, the more dangerous he will become after death, for the obsessing evil demon lays hold of this power. This is the true reason why old people, and especially sorcerers, are so greatly feared after death.

Savages are not able to work out and systematise their ideas in the same strongly logical way as civilised people do, and their theories in religious matters are not, therefore, free from contradictions. This is especially the case when ideas belonging to an older and a newer stratum of religious thought are mixed with each other. What the ethnologist has to do in such cases is to state what beliefs are actually held; but he ought not to try to solve the inconsistencies.

The funeral customs of the Tobas appear from the following description of a burial which I witnessed in a Toba village. The dead person was an old man.

As soon as it became clear that the patient could not recover and that death was imminent, the female relatives of the sick man began loudly to wail and shout. At the same moment as he breathed his last, his wife and daughter blackened their face with charcoal, washing it away soon afterwards. The man died in the afternoon shortly before the approach of darkness. There was not, therefore, time to bury him the same day, as the Tobas usually do. All relatives of the deceased, who had lived in the same house as he, at once retired from it and left the dead man alone there close to a big fire previously made. The door of the house was thereafter carefully shut and, moreover, barricaded with various blocks and poles; even a *catre* (a sort of bedstead made of laths) was turned over it. Outside the door thus locked an-

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other big fire was made. At some distance from this the relatives of the dead man encamped for the night on the ground at a third fire which was kept up during the whole night. The spot where they stayed was moreover fenced round with a great number of arrows stuck in the ground. Nearly all the inhabitants in the village, even the women, were seen to bear arrows or large sticks in their hands when they moved about outside their houses this evening. An old sister of the deceased appeared with an arrow painted in brown colour on each cheek. When darkness set in, a peculiar purification ceremony with fire took place. Some of the men now and then seized a brand from the fire which was made outside the house of death, and incessantly swaying it round in all directions, they went through the village far into the forest, from time to time giving loud shouts. After a while they again returned to the house from which they had started. This procedure was repeated various times, the men always starting from the fire outside the house of the dead man, and carrying the brands in different directions into the forest. This purification ceremony is called *koyadanatti*.

The following morning, at dawn, the dead Indian was carried to the forest close to the river to be buried, followed by the wailing women. He was laid in the grave naked and in a half-sitting posture with the head bent down between the knees. The grave was carefully filled up, and a small mound was made upon which ultimately a great number of branches of trees, provided with big thorns, were placed.

As soon as the burial was finished the relatives made two big fires close to the sepulchre, where the clothes in which they had carried the corpse were burned as well as various others of his belongings: his *poncho* or mantle, his trowsers and waist-belt, his hat, his nets, his bow and arrows, the goat's skin which every Toba Indian possesses, etc. During all these operations the loud and affected wailing of the women was heard from time to time.

The burning of the property of the deceased was later on continued outside the house in which he had died. Everything which had belon-

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ged to him or been in some contact with him was left to be consumed by the flames. His clay vessels were broken, even the bedstead where he had lain was destroyed. Every time that the women were obliged to enter the house to fetch something, they gave vent to a loud wailing. Finally the house itself was pulled down and partly burnt. At some distance from it the relatives started to build themselves a new dwelling, but the fear of the dead man overcame them, and after some days they entirely left the village and went off to another place to settle among their relatives there.

The burial-party, having returned to the village after the interment, sat down to drink *chicha* of maize. Both men and women took part in the drinking-bout, the women however as usual drinking separately from the men.

The wife and daughter of the deceased the same day cut off the hair of their head and burnt it.

It is evident that most of the ceremonies described were inspired by fear of the death-spirit. The spirit is not only supposed still to reside in the dead body which is therefore shunned, but also to move about in the village looking for other victims. He is particularly attached to all things with which the departed had been in contact. The Indians fancy that they can expel or intimidate the invisible molester by the same material means which they would have recourse to against a human enemy. Thus in the case described, they tried to lock the spirit in the house where the corpse lay by barricading the door with poles, to inspire him with fear by means of arrows and sticks, and so forth. When I asked the relatives why they fenced round the place where they spent the night with arrows, they gave the characteristic answer that they were «good«; this meant that they were an effective protection against the malicious demon. The Indians generally use the same expression of amulets, as well as of religious ceremonies and conjurations, when one asks them why they are performed. — Arrows play an important part as charms or amulets among the South American Indians.

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Another efficacious means of expelling evil spirits is *fire*, and the many fires which the Indians made in the critical night were typical of the Indian view on this point. The fires which are frequently kept burning in the Indian villages at night have for their object not only to keep off wild animals and mosquitos but also evil spirits. The particular ceremony with the brands, which were carried about in the village in the evening *(koyadanatti)*, had a similar magical object, namely, to purify the village and drive the death-demon away into the forest. Such purification ceremonies with fire after a death are in vogue among most Chaco tribes.

The Tobas are also in the habit of performing magical conjurations at night by means of drums or rattles *(poketá danyakkó)* for some time after a death.

The thorny branches which were laid upon the grave were intended partly to secure the dead body against wild animals, partly to prevent the death-spirit from rising from the grave. The Tobas believe that if shortly after the burial the body is exhumed the spirit will come out and may transform himself into a tiger which will kill the people. But the latter may sometimes happen even without any particular profanation of the burial-place.

The custom of destroying the property of the dead by burning it is found among all Chaco tribes as among most South American Indians. The opinion has been expressed that such customs are due to the desire of the surviving relatives to make the clothes, weapons, and implements of the deceased follow him to the other world because he wants them there as in this life. But this theory at any rate does not apply to the burial customs of the Chaco tribes. It would not be consistent with the idea of these Indians to send the property of the dead to the other world by burning it, for burning is a radical means of destruction. Moreover, the very notion of such sacrifices to the dead seems to be foreign to the Chaco Indians. Not even food or drink is ever offered to them. When the natives burn such things as have belonged to the departed or been in some contact with him, this prac-

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tice is solely due to their fear of the infection or pollution of death attaching to such things. They are therefore given over to the fire, the strongest means of purification they know. But it ought to be added that this infection of death is always personified, that is, it is the death-demon that the Indians fear to come in contact with. If anybody, especially of the relatives, keeps these things and for instance eats from a vessel which had been used by the deceased, the evil demon may enter into him or her and cause disease and death.

It is customary among the Tobas always to destroy the house where a death has taken place, since no one likes to live in such a house. The relatives usually stay in the village, building themselves a new dwelling, but sometimes they leave the whole place for some time. The other inhabitants in the village, on the other hand, make no notable change in their mode of life, since they are not in the same degree exposed to danger.

For similar reasons the survivors have to observe various other precautions, most of which are however limited to the women. When a man dies, his widow, daugthers, and sisters have to blacken their face. Similarly they must cut their hair short. The ceremonial wailing is also incumbent on the women and, among other things, attends the cutting of the hair. When the hair of a widow has grown long in the course of some months, she must again cut it short and at the same time repeats wailing. Similarly the nearest female relatives have to diet in so far that they are not allowed to eat fish for many months. If they infringe the rules of diet with regard to fish they might sicken and die. After a woman has cut her hair the second time she may again eat fish, her mourning is over and she is also allowed to marry again. Even some of the men abstain from eating fish for some time after the death of a near relation.

With exception of the cutting of the hair the Tobas do not nowadays practise any mutilation of the body in mourning, but formerly the following custom prevailed among them. When a woman died her eldest son had to cut off one of the nails of his fingers. The nail was

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fastened to a string and hung at the neck of a dog who was thereafter driven away. If the son omitted to do this, it was believed that the soul of the woman would enter into the nail and kill him in the shape of a tiger into which it would transform itself. This could be prevented by sending away the nail. The dog carrying it off would meet some other tribesman into which the soul would enter and thus become inoffensive, for the spirits of the dead are harmful only to the nearest relatives. The Indian who told me this added that the custom is no longer practised by the Tobas because nowadays it very seldom happens that people are killed by tigers and thus the belief that women are after death changed into such beasts has lost its foundation. This again, according to the Indian belief, is owing to the fact that the medicine-men are now able to provide against such sad eventualities through their incantations and conjurations.

As to the explanation of these observances, we have already seen that the abstention from eating fish after a death, as on other occasions, is due to fear lest the demon, who is believed to hide in the belly of the fish, should gain entrance into the body. Similarly the blackening of the face at mourning has been explained as a purely magical practice. Of special interest are the mourning customs relating to hair and nails. Among most South American Indians the women have — in addition to other scarifications and mutilations of the body to which they are subject — to cut the hair of their head on the death of a near male relative. Such mutilations cannot be explained as sacrifices to the dead or as attempts to placate them by the pain which the survivors inflict upon themselves.[1] They are in essence purification ceremonies and based upon a special superstition relating to these parts of the human body: the spirit or soul is particularly seated or concentrated in them. Hence one who possesses these essential parts of a person at the same time possesses his soul through

[1] This theory has been set forth for instance by Dr. Koch in his »Zum Animismus der Sydamerikanischen Indianer», *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*; Bd XIII, Supplement. Leyden, 1900, p. 74, and by several other writers.

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which it is possible to exert magical influence upon him. To understand why the hair and nails are cut in mourning and on certain other critical occasions, we must consider that if there really is the belief that the human spirit is particularly concentrated in them and that by obtaining a lock of a man's hair or a piece of his nail it is possible supernaturally to influence him, it is conceivable that the evil spirits should especially take interest in these parts. The invisible enemies naturally attack the person they want to harm through what may be said to be his Achilles-heel, his most vulnerable point. Thus a Toba woman told me that the spirit of the dead man may seize his surviving wife by the hair and make her die. To rid herself from this danger she totally removes and destroys that critical part of her body. Similarly the same Indian idea explains why the spirit of the dead mother was believed to pass into her son through a nail of his finger.[1]

That *wailing* is among these Indians ceremonial and has a purely practical object is clear from the circumstances under which it takes place. Although it is beyond doubt that the Indians are capable of real feelings of sorrow at the loss of a near relative, yet their intense fear of death — including their fear of the dead body — thoroughly stamps all their mourning customs. The Tobas in fact believe that the loud crying and shouting will frighten away the dreaded demon. Yet it seems to me probable that the wailing has also partly for its object to propitiate the departed by showing how deeply the survivors grieve his death. Ceremonial wailing is by the Tobas called *noyin*.

The fact that the women are obliged to observe the mourning customs much more rigorously than the men, that only they have to blacken their face, to fast, and to wail, is due to ideas to which I have drawn attention before, namely, that women are believed to have by

[1] With regard to the above explanation I may remark that the Indians have not expressly told me that they regard the hair and the nails as the seat of the soul or spirit. This is a conclusion at which I have arrived by a comparative study of the hair- and nail-customs among the South American Indians in general, and which will be published in a separate work.

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nature much less power of resistance against evil spirits than men, and therefore must be more careful in every respect.

The drinking-bout, which forms part and parcel of a funeral feast, also has a ceremonial character: the partakers in the feast intoxicate themselves with the fermented drink in order to have a protection against the malicious spirit. Chicha of maize is only drunk for want of the true fermented drink, the algaroba-beer or *maplyi*. Since the maize-beer is not very strong it is drunk even by the women. The *maplyi*, on the other hand, is only drunk by the men.

The fear of the dead also manifests itself in the prohibition to mention their *names*. This is another general superstition among the Chaco tribes. These savages as a rule are very reluctant to mention their true Indian names. When the Chaco Indians visit the whites they nearly always assume Christian surnames which they use instead of their native ones. If thus the Indians are careful with the names of the living, those of the dead are particularly regarded as taboo and must never be mentioned, especially not by the nearest relatives. When I asked one of my Indian friends about the name of a man who had just died, he hesitated for a moment, looked round, and when he saw that no one of the relatives was near, he *whispered* the name in my ear. This superstition, I believe, is ultimately based on the idea, held by all Indians, that *the soul of a person is inherent in his name*. To know a person's name is therefore the same as to have his soul in one's power, and supernatural influences can be exerted upon him through this invisible part of his personality, just as they can be exerted through a lock of his hair or a piece of his nail. If the soul is believed to be in the name, we can easily understand why the names of the dead are especially taboo. To mention it is the same as to enter into close contact with the departed soul itself to which the infection of death is attached, and this is supposed to entail unfortunate consequences at least for the nearest relatives. For an outsider there is evidently not the same personal danger. But since a person may be controlled and conjured through his name, it is further believed that the rest

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of the dead in the grave may be disturbed by calling him by name. It is therefore considered a dreadful indiscretion against the relatives to speak of the deceased and to mention his name. This is the idea prevailing both among the Tobas and among other Chaco tribes. Generally the Indians do not like to speak about the dead at all, and if they do, their tacit maxim is: *de mortuis nil nisi bene*. The relatives would never admit that they fear a dead parent and regard him as malicious. They always pronounce him to be «good«, as if believing that by such a euphemism they may change his character or paralyse the harmful effects arising from him.

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CHAPTER VII.

Myths.

The Tobas are rather an intelligent people and addicted to philosophical speculations. Most of their myths therefore refer to their ideas about the creation of the world and of man, and the origin of the Indian culture. Of special interest are the two versions they have about the creation of the world, on the one hand through an evil deity Kaloaraík, on the other through a good god Peritnalík.

1. Myths about the creation of the world and the origin of the Indian culture.

An old Toba, Emák, gave me the following short relation of the ideas the Tobas have about the origin of the world: How the world has originated the Tobas do not exactly know, but an evil deity it must have been who created the heaven, the earth, and all things which they contain, for the world is miserable. Disease and death befall us; the lightning strikes, burning our fields and killing us; the tigers visit us at night and devour us; we must work hard to live. If the god were good he would have made the world much better, or at least he would have given us remedies against all these evils. This evil deity the Tobas call Kaloaraik, *i. e.* 'The Evil One'; he is the evil creator of an evil world.

According to another theory, the world has, on the contrary, been made by a good deity whom the Tobas call Peritnalík. He has created the heaven, the earth, the sun, the moon, the stars, different kinds of trees with their fruits, as well as different human races, Tobas, Christianos, Chiriguanos, Matacos, Chorotis, Tapiete, with their

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different languages. This good god likewise in the beginning of times has offered to all these races all sorts of useful animals, horses, cows, sheep, goats, dogs, etc. But all these animals were then extremely small i size; the horses and the cows, for instance, were no larger than dogs, and the rest were in proportion to these. Therefore the Tobas and the other Indian races refused to accept them. Thus Peritnalík brought one of these horses to the Tobas and asked them, «Would you like to have this?« «No, we do not like it«, was their answer, «it is too small, it won't do«. Peritnalík brought a cow, a sheep, and so forth, asking every time, «Would you like to have this?«, and the Tobas and the other Indians every time answered, «No, we do not like it, it won't do«. Only when Peritnalık brought them a dog they answered, «This we keep«; for although it was very small it seemed nice to the Indians. — Peritnalík also offered these same animals to the Christianos asking them, «Would you like to have this?«, and the Christianos answered every time, «Yes, we like it«. Now, as a reward for their having accepted his gifts, Peritnalík the following day sent down from the heaven to the Christianos these same animals, horses, cows, sheep, goats, dogs, etc., but all now were of normal size. The Tobas and the other Indian races, on the other hand, who had refused the gift of Peritnalík, got nothing. This is the reason why the Christians now have so many useful animals, whereas the Indians have only got some few of them by buying them from the Christians. Only the dogs, which the Tobas had accepted, Peritnalík gave them, and this is the reason why they now have so many dogs. — Peritnalík, morover, offered the men other useful things, first of all fire-arms, rifles and guns, asking them, «Would you like to have this?«. But the Tobas and other Indians feared these things and answered as before, «No, we do not like them.« The Christians, on the other hand, accepted them. This is the reason why the Christians now have all sorts of fire-arms, whereas the Indians only have their bows and arrows. Only later on the Indians have received such fire-arms as well as other useful things by buying them from the Christians.

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The religious imagination of the Tobas thus on the one hand ascribes the creation of the world to an evil deity (Kaloaraík), who has made human life most miserable, on the other hand to a benevolent god (Peritnalík) who has given man things good and useful. As to the relation between these two theories there cannot, however, be much doubt. The first version is the original one and genuinely Indian, whereas the second, the one which speaks of Peritnalík, is of later origin and bears traces of foreign influence. That the myth of Peritnalík is comparatively modern, can also be inferred from the speculations about the origin of the inequality between the Christian and the Indian culture with which it is connected, The myth about the Creator-god Peritnalík is evidently, if not wholly a result of Christian teaching, at any rate influenced by Christian ideas, as will appear more clearly from another myth which I shall presently relate. It is also significant that the creation of the evil Kaloaraík was mentioned by an old man, whereas the myths about Peritnalík were told me by some representatives of the younger generation, who seemed to know nothing about Kaloaraík.

When i asked my informants how it is possible to combine the two myths with one another, they answered that later on Peritnalík has vanquished and killed the evil Kaloaraík, and moreover taught the Tobas the art of chanting and conjuring *(empacherón, poketá dañyakkó)* by means of which they are now able to prevent and overcome many evils.

The Tobas have no doubt originally had rather a pessimistic view of the world, as probably has been the case with all primitive races who have not yet possessed many methods of defying the assaults of nature and have been obliged to struggle hard for their existence. But in the same degree as they have discovered remedies and antidotes against its evils, their view of the world has brightened. As to the Tobas, although they have never been friends of the whites who gradually have occupied their territories, they are nevertheless aware that they have received from them many useful things which now aid them

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in the struggle of life. From the Christians they have obtained horses and other domesticated animals, useful weapons and implements like fire-arms, knives, axes and spades, and through the gradual cultivation of their land the tigers and other wild animals, who formerly seem to have disturbed their welfare, have retired from their dwelling-places.

2. *Myths about the origin of mankind.*

Some other Toba myths tell us about the origin of mankind, and especially about the origin of the women.

A long time ago a great fire devastated the whole earth, so that nothing was left. At that time there did not yet exist any Toba. The first Toba emerged from the earth, seized a brand from the great fire and carried it away. Thereafter other Toba men likewise rose from the earth. The men thus had fire, and they maintained life by a root which the Tobas call *tannará*. They moreover caught fish in the river. But there did not yet exist any Toba woman.

One day when the men returned from fishing, they found that all the fish which they had deposited upon the erections[1] outside their houses had been stolen during their absence. «Who has stolen our fish?«, they asked one another in astonishment; but no one could give an answer. They again put their fish upon the erections as they were wont to do. On the following day when they returned from fishing they again discovered that somebody had taken away their fish while they had been on the river. The same thing was repeated the third day. Then a Toba said, «Well, I shall stay here while you go to the river, and hide near the houses in order to find out who always steals our fish while we are away.« The Toba accordingly stayed at home and the others went off. After a while he came running to the others to the river. «I have seen the thieves«, he shouted to them, «come and see them!« The other men returned to the houses and saw a marvellous

[1] Erections made of branches of trees, upon which provisions are kept in order to be guarded against dogs and other animals, are common among the Chaco tribes.

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thing. In an enclosure which hung down from the heaven the women were shut in. While the men were away at the river, the lift lowered itself down to the earth, so that the women who were in it were able to reach the fish upon the erections and take it. Thereafter the lift again rose to heaven with the women. When the men arrived the women called out to them that they could not come out and asked them to help them. The men began to throw stones at the bottom of the lift; holes were formed in it through which the women fell down to the ground, and with such a force that they penetrated deep into the earth. The men began to dig in the ground with sticks in order to get the women out, and they dug with such eagerness that they thrust out the eyes of some of the women with their sticks, so that they became one-eyed. In this way the Tobas obtained their women. All the women were very nice and had abundant hair.

Another great fire thereafter threatened the welfare of the Tobas, but they had now learnt the art of incantation, and a Toba man who knew this art succeeded in averting the evil.

According to another version of the same myth it was not fish that the women stole from the men but a kind of small animal which the Tobas call *tangdrá* (earth rats?) and which they used to hunt and eat at those times. One day when they returned home from hunting they discovered that the *tangdrá* which they had deposited on the erections had been stolen. This was repeated three successive days. Then a Toba, well dressed in black clothes, offered to remain at home while the others went out hunting, in order to find out who the thieves were. After a while the others returned to the village and asked the watch, «Have you seen the thieves?« «No, I have not seen the thieves,« he answered. A while later they again returned and inquired whether he had seen the thieves, and received the same answer. Finally, when the man began to grow weary and was about to fall asleep, he suddenly heard a strange humming sound above his head. He startled, lifted up his eyes and saw the women coming down from the heaven like deities. The Toba took a large brand from the fire put

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it upright and hid himself behind it, being himself black like the brand The women were in an enclosure which hung down from heaven by a rope and was lowered to the earth. They were numerous as ants, and shouting and laughing began to eat of the *tangdrá* deposited upon the erections. The Toba now seized a large stick with which he struck off the rope by which the lift hung, so that it fell to the ground, and with such a force that the women went into the earth. The women called out from within the earth, «Who wants a good wife?«, «Who wants a good wife?« Now the other Toba men also arrived home. Some started to dig in the earth with sticks in order to get out the women, and thus all of them were by-and-by brought to light. «What shall we do with the women?«, some of the men asked. «Some we shall give to our chiefs,« others answered. After the chiefs the other men likewise obtained wives. Other peoples also came: Christianos, Matacos, Chorotis, etc. and all obtained wives. The women bore many children, some only boys, others only girls. In this way the women have come to the world. The women were beautiful, with nice mantles and other clothes, but their *vulva* was very hard.

3. *Myths about the destruction of the world and a new creation.*

The imagination of the Tobas has not only formed myths about the creation of the world but also about its destruction through some catastrophe of nature. Such myths are the following:

A) The destruction of the world through snow and ice.

In the primitive times it happened that during many successive days and weeks so much snow and hail fell from the heaven that it covered the whole earth. Everything was frozen over and the whole human race perished from the cold. At this time the men did not yet know fire. Even the Tobas died and went to *piyim* in the shape of ostriches, sheep, goats, etc. Only in one house one man and one woman of the Tobas and likewise of other human races re-

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mained alive. The good god, Peritnalik, came down from *piyim* and saw that all men had perished. He got angry at this and said, «How has this happened? This cold will no more be repeated«. And to the men and women that had surrived he said, «You shall not die of cold any more you Christianos, Chiriguanos, Matacos, Chorotis and Tapiete, but you shall live well.« The snowing and the hailing stopped and the weather became warm. The women of all these peoples bore many children and another human race arose. From these all men upon the earth are descended.

Although the Christian influence is conspicuous in this myth, it also contains elements from the own experience of the Indians. A myth which speaks about the destruction of the world through snow and ice is evidently from that remote time in the history of the Tobas when they lived in the frigid pampas regions of the South and often suffered from the cold. That Peritnalik figures in this myth may be taken as further evidence in support of the assumption that this god is not a genuine creation of the Indian imagination.

B) The destruction of the world through fire.

The great pampas fires which not unfrequently occur in Chaco have naturally given rise to the myths about the destruction of the world through fire which are current among many Chaco tribes. I have already mentioned one myth of this kind from among the Tobas, which referred to a time when men did not yet exist. Another similar myth runs as follows:

Another great fire devastated everything upon the earth and exterminated nearly the whole human race. The Christianos, the Chiriguanos, the Chorotis, the Matacos, the Tapiete, — all perished through the fire. Only the Tobas saved themselves in a great pit which they dug in the earth, and which they plastered well inside with clay. In this pit they stayed waiting for the fire to stop. They remained there three days. They had nothing to eat, and a boy died of hunger.

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At last they sent a small boy up from the pit to find out whether the fire had stopped so that they could get out. After a while the boy came back and informed the others that the fire had stopped and that they could already leave the pit. The boy was like a god[1] and instructed the others how they had to behave in order to get out unharmed. When they left the pit, everybody had to cover his eyes well with a cloth;[2] whoever would not cover his eyes would be transformed into an animal.[3] A Toba man who would not cover his eyes would be transformed into an ostrich. If he covered his eyes, nothing would happen to him, he would remain a man as before. A Toba woman who would not cover her eyes would be transformed into a deer; if she covered her eyes, nothing would happen to her, she would remain a woman as before. An old man who would not cover his eyes would be changed into a stork (or great heron); if he covered his eyes nothing would happen to him. An old women who would not cover her eyes would be changed into an ant-bear; if she covered her eyes nothing would happen to her. A Toba boy who would not cover her eyes would be changed into a rabbit, and a Toba girl who would not cover her eyes into a pig. If they would cover their eyes nothing would happen to them; they would remain as before. The Tobas did as the boy told them to do, and all came up from the pit unharmed.

Thus the conflagration was now finished and Peritnalík *(peyák nötta)* started to create a new world. Through this new creation the Christianos came down from heaven *(piyím)*, and similarly the Chiriguanos.

Of all animals on the earth only one small bird, which the Tobas

---

[1] This is possibly connected with the idea of the Tobas that the spirits have the shape of small boys *(nätolik)*.

[2] Probably because of the harmful gases which emerged from the still smoking earth.

[3] That is, he would die and his soul would transmigrate into an animal. The eyes are, as we know, regarded as a particularly critical part of the body through which evil spirits may enter into men and cause disease and death. Hence the precaution of the Indians to cover the face with a cloth on certain critical occasions.

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call *guessal*, had remained alive, because he could not burn. This bird planted trees of all kinds. «I have no place where I can rest when I get tired«, he said; «that is not good.« Therefore he planted different trees, algaroba-, tusca-, chañar-, mistol-trees with the fruits which they produce. The god Peritnalík, on the other hand, sent down from the heaven to the Christianos all sorts of other useful fruits, santias (water-melons), maize, pumpkins, and so forth. A Toba passed by and saw the fruits. He took stealthily some seeds of all these fruits and carried them away. «Let us see what will come out of these«, he said. He planted them in the earth, and within five days a number of santias, choclos, pumpkins and other fruits grew up. From this time the Tobas have possessed these fruits which primarily only the Christians have known.

4. Myths about certain irregularities in nature.

In the earliest times various irregularities in the course of nature seem also to have taken place. Such myths are the following:

A) The sun is darkened. During five days it did not dawn; there was no sun, but continually night. All men were sleeping and were very hungry for they had nothing to eat. Many tigers came down from the forest. Finally a young Toba rose and said to his mother, «I dreamt that there was day«. He began to chant with his rattle gourd *(poketá danyakkó)*. He chanted for a long time incessantly, until at last the sun rose and it dawned.

This myth evidently has its origin in an eclipse of the sun, and it shows what ideas the Tobas have about such natural phenomena: they are caused by evil spirits which can be frightened away by chanting and the shaking of rattles.

B) The sun falls down. Suddenly the sun fell down on the earth. «What shall we do?«, the Tobas asked one another. Then there was an old Indian, a medicine-man, who knew how to

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go to heaven *(piyim)*[1], and he instructed the Tobas how they had to manage. They cut off the long hair from four men and twisted it so that it formed a sort of lasso, whereupon they tied this lasso round the sun. Then they made a big fire which produced much smoke. This smoke raised the sun up to the heavens and the Tobas helped by means of the lasso which they had tied round the sun. Soon the sun was in the heaven as before.

The falling of a meteor may perhaps have given rise to a myth like this. The detail with the lasso twisted of the hair of four men may be connected with the common Indian idea that the human hair is charged with magical power.

C) Thunder-bolts fall. During five days heavy thunder-bolts were falling which sounded like the crying of women. An Indian who heard it said, «Is it women who are crying or what is it?« The same old Indian who was able to go to *piyim* came along and again advised the others. At his suggestion the Tobas made a fire in the moscoyuio grass and trampled on it so that much smoke was produced. With this smoke the thunder-bolts went back to heaven.

Thereafter no more disorders in nature took place. The world was now well established.

5. *Myth about the Toba girl who refused to marry.*

There was once a Toba girl who persistently refused to marry a young Toba man who asked her for his wife. One day when she went down to the river to bathe, a snake which was in the water entered into her and made her pregnant. The same day in the evening she gave birth to a snake which took her down into the earth. There she spent her time weeping and lamenting, but could not get out. Her father grieved much for the fate of his daughter, but he could not fetch her away from under the ground for it rained and was very cold.

[1] By the aid of the guardian spirit which every medicine-man possesses and which is supposed to reside in heaven.

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Later on, when she went back to the river, she again became pregnant through a snake, and so forth. This happened to her as a punishment for her reluctance to marry.

This myth illustrates the common Indian belief that young women are on certain occasions badly exposed to attacks of evil spirits in the form of snakes, who may enter into them, especially during bathing. See above, pp. 22, 27.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Language.

The language of the Tobas has been known chiefly through the vocabulary of the Jesuit Father Alonso Bárcena from the 17:th century, published by Dr. Lafone Quevedo in 1893 together with a vocabulary of his own written down from the mouth of the Toba Indian Lopez. As we gather from this work, the language of the Argentine Tobas at the time of Bárcena considerably differs from the dialect spoken by the Bolivian Tobas to-day. Again, the account of the Toba language given by Father Zacarias Ducci refers to a special subtribe on lower Pilcomayo. The small vocabulary noted down by me among the Bolivian Tobas may not therefore be without interest.

In writing down the vocabulary I have as a rule used the English ortography. Thus *ch* is pronounced in the same way as in English. The *k*-sound is throughout denoted with *k*.

Parts of the body, etc.

Body, *nahluvattiláh.*
Head, *kadekáik,*
Hair of the head, *layirót, kadayirót.*
Eye, *kadeité.*
Ear, *kadketilá.*
Nose, *kademík.*
Mouth, *kanahép.*
Tooth, *kadodaití.*
Tongue, *kadacharát.*
Throat, *kadekolaná.*

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Neck, *kadkohót.*
Arm, *kadalté.*
Hand, *kadovák.*
Finger, *kadiraita.*
Nail, *kadenát.*
Shoulder, *kadavagim.*
Back, (dorsum), *kadóvi.*
Leg, *kadichí, kadelikti.*
Foot, *kadapyá.*
Breast, chest, *kadattóvi.* The breast of a woman, *kadotatté.*
Stomach, *kattá'am.*
Navel, *kadedám.*
Heart, *kadkiakatté.*
Bone, *kadekotti.*
Skin, *kadók.*
Blood, *kadettavúo.*
Penis, *konekollé.*
Vulva, *lókkoh.*

Elements and nature.

Water, *noróp.*
River, lagoon, *norópe, noróp.*
Fire, *dólle.*
Rain, *vóttep.*
Heaven, *piyim.*
Sun, *tahigua* (the rising sun). The sun in the zenith, *noló.* The setting sun, *asouá.*
Moon, *avuóroik.*
Star, *uakachini.*
Thunder, *dimyi.*
Lightning, *kahonrá.*
Cloud, *náppo.*
Wind, breath, *layát.* The (cold) south wind, *kolavaik.* The (warm) north wind, *vakkiráik.*

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Day, *tahígua* (= sun).
Evening, night, *pīyak*. In the night, *nályi*.
Shadow, shade, *pakál*.
Earth, *alūva*.
Wood, forest, *loloptóh*.
Mountain, *pokóh*.
Tree, *alák*.
Algarobo *(Prosopis alba)*, *máppik*.
Tusca *(Acacia aroma)*, *parák*.
Chanar, *(Gourliea decortitans)*, tákkai.
Tasi (a vine), *charáde*.
Algarobo fruit, *map*.
Maize, *táwara*.
Dish of boiled maize, *euóhi*.
Pumpkin, *ottányi*.
Big pumpkin, *olliare*.
Tobacco, *kóik*.
Chicha (native fermented drink) of maize, *tawaralyí*.
Chicha of algaroba beans, *máplyi*.
Seed (seed-grain), *kodá*.
Thorn, *yarát*.
Splinter, *kaipák*.
Stone, *káah*.
Gold, silver, *leikková*.

House, utensils, etc.

House, *emúk*.
Home, *lachákka*.
Roof, *neikkiót*.
Wall, *avokappí*.
Door, *kanasóm*.
Pan, pot, *tarattyí*.
Another kind of pot, *naikóna*.

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Bank (consisting of a tree trunk), *yuchán.*
Mortar of wood to grind the maize, *viyó.*
Knife, *tóuohik.* Big knife, *nolryanát.*
Axe, *kachepýh.*
Bedstead made of laths, *nelá.*
Rifle, gun, *uonnakaté.*
Bow, *chikínek.*
Arrow, *ichikína.*
Battle-club, *akadpák.*
Lance, *haharalígim.*
Fish-net, *nouránnanak.*
Pipe, cigarrette, *kóiannache.*
Rattle gourd filled with hard seeds, *poketá.*
Rattle consisting of bells, *heligdáy.*
Drum, *kaltaki.*
Fire-wood, fuel, *láho.*

Dress.

Hat, *nadó.*
Shirt, *maki.*
Trowsers, *kemáho.*
Boots, *nappilá.*
Necklace made of glass beads, *mállawiri.*
Necklace made of plates of metal, *leikková.*

Family, etc.

Man, male, *léem.*
Woman, *yavóh.*
Married woman, wife, *aduáh, louáh.*
Father, *tarena.*
Mother, *chidena.*
Son, *likóhot.*
Daughter, *yaléh.*
Boy, *nätolik.*

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Girl, *(yavóh) nätolik.*
Small child, babe, *honäyolék.*
Brother, *nokolék.*
Sister, *lahnolé, nollý.*
Cousin, *honnaranyí.*
Old man, *eakáchi.*
Old woman, *erénna.*
Friend, *hidik.*
Enemy, *louránnik.*
Chief, *alyánek.*
White man, *kohelék.*
White woman, *yora (louáh).*
Toba Indian, *komlék.*
Ava (Chiriguano), *kalonrailék.*
Mataco Indian, *hukaráik.*
Choroti Indian, *heialéh.*
Tapiete or Ashluslay Indian, *sotegaráik.*

Animals.

Horse, *piyák.*
Mare, *piyák yavóh* (= female horse).
Dog, *piyók.*
Bitch, *piyók yavóh* (= female dog).
Jaguar, *kidók, nahòre.*
Fox, *nuóraha.*
Deer, *tarannarannará.*
Cat, *miss.*
Mule, *molla* (Spanish *mula*).
Donkey, *aina.*
Wild boar, *wákayi, codági* (different kinds of wild boar).
Sheep, *nanaletti.*
Sheep's wool, *yakaltínek.*
Goat, *likittak.*

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Bird, *ikolallígi.*
Hen, fowl, *olligara.*
Hen's egg, *laualkolé.*
Pheasant *(Penelope)*, *kochini.*
Wild turkey, *kochinilati.*
Ostrich, *manyík.*
Wild duck, *taranyi.* Small wild duck, *takkovi.*
Parrot, *elé.*
Caiman, alligator, *niradyák.*
Armadillo, *namarayi.*
Lizard, *littóh.* Another kind of lizard (venomous), *navyók.*
Snake, *nanáik.*
Fish, *niak.*

Other substantives.

Spirit, demon, *peyák.*
God, *peyák nötta* (= good spirit).
Soul, *kadepakál* (= the human shadow).
Medicine-man, sorcerer, *yeyátten* (= one who knows).
War, *youarán.*
Truth, *konyíhigim.*
Lie, *namáchini.*
Warmth, *nahōya.* The sun is hot, *koyák tahígua.*
Gold, *nakavirá.*
Ice, *lonyi.*
Road, *nakáik.*
The land of the Tobas in the south, *poilák.*

Numerals.

One, *hiatakolék.*
Two, *diákte.*
Three, *nányi.*
Four, *nolót piyát.*

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Five, *kaváiyi.*

Six, *karaitá.*

Ten, *viliayi, nimíchigim.*

For numerals from six upwards the Tobas also simply use the word *halkotti*, 'many'.

Adjectives.

Good, *noin, notta.*

Bad, useless, *káuem.*

Evil, *kaloaráik, káuem.*

Angry, offended, *aleumattah, aduóttak.*

Mean, niggardly, *hematkáik.*

Great, big, much, *halkotti.*

Small, little, *miokolék, kalótta.*

Old (man or animal), *eakáchi, erenna.*

Broad, *pedaranyik.*

Narrow, *olaranyik.*

High, *kitákaik.*

Low, *laradík.*

Clear, *pilárihi, laitti.*

Dark, *kayalaitti.*

Dirty, *napíriyi.*

Muddled, turbid, *paranyí.*

Bitter, *chim.*

Strong, (a strong man), *nouworannát.*

Strong drink etc., *tarai.*

Weak, *kaya nouuorán.*

Plain, smooth, *uyánynraik.*

Heavy, *pihé.*

Light, *hachínho.*

Black, *láidarik.*

White, *pagaráik.*

Red, *tomaráik.*

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Green, *pilárihi.*
Blue, *míllaraik.*
Gray, *imalkagi.*
Yellow, *kónyoroik.*
All, *kollát.* All together, *kollák.*
Long, *halkotti.*
Short, *miokolék.*
Hard, *danyi.*
Soft, *kobátak.*
Swift, rapid, *nakaparannagi.*
Slow, *nāliketāh.*
Sweet, *talyiahon.*
Pretty, beautiful, *ónnaraik.*
Uggly, *tsirággi.*
Stout, fat, *napiyóh.*
Thin, meagre, *yapótah.*
Ill, sick, *iluák.*
Dead, *ilúh.*

Verbs.

To eat, *halík, ikiyák.*
To drink, *yómyi.*
To sing, *dónnaran.*
To dance, *nahotti, nomi* (Different kinds of dances).
To conjure by singing, *empaché, empacherón, pionák.*
To cure a sick person by singing, *empacherón iluák.*
To walk, to go, *ivóttak.*
To go off, march off, *ik, kíuo, taiyi, naikidáha.*
To say, to tell, *hachigá.*
To hurry, *niapilák.*
To come, to arrive, *nóvyi.* Come along!, *adhóma!*
To go slowly and cautiously, *ganadıtak.*
To speak, converse, *taktarāttāk.*

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To give, to make a present to anyone, *yivuavachét.* Give me!, bring me!, *avavó, antàk.*

To hunt, *hayınak.*

To laugh, *ihātak.*

To cry, to weep, *nayıtak.*

To wail in mourning, *noyín.*

To work, *hōnnattarán.*

To shoot with a fire-arm, *uonnakaté.* To shoot with bow and arrow, *teinarán.*

To sleep, *avochí.* Let us go to bed!, *chamoyi ochák.*

To lie in bed, *aukée.*

To name. His name is, *nyého, linrát.* What is your (his) name?, *hétte linrát?*

To buy, *hakkót.* I want to buy fish, *hakkót nat nıak.*

To be, to live, *néttah.*

To like, to desire, *nokopitták.* I do not like, *hakopitták.*

To have, to possess, *hamptti.*

To know, *nayátten, imákata.* I do not know, *hānayátten, hāyämrák (hämrák).*

To believe, *tehnák.*

To summon, to bid a person come, *yihuéttak.*

To take (carry) away, *yáchi.*

To stand, *honnarayígim.*

To sit, *honnaranyí.*

To spring, *yecharanyí.*

To smell (act.), *nikkóppi.*

To see, *hikatamák.*

To hear, *kittilá.* To be dull of hearing, *kayalkittilālák.*

To kill, *hiuarán.*

To die, *yilannarán.*

To fight, *avuorán.* They are fighting, *analachiát.*

To cut, *avuópyak.*

To take, to seize, *avanim.*

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To bring, *anodót.*
To fear, *nichillák.*
To wait, *notokochéchini.* Wait!, *haluiná!*
To burn, *avík.*
To bathe, *nyáchi.*
To sow (to put the seed), *hianék hiani.*
To harvest, *avakkóhop aneppihígim.*
To prepare food, *hikkóhot halík.*
To feel pains, *kon.* It hurts me much, *akái kon.*
To pray, *hayeyátten.*
To have sexual intercourse, *annagirá, vóvvi, úyiyi.*

I go off, *hek, malhék, giuo, malhe'giuo.* I go back to my house, *ok kiuo.*
You go, *hekkó.* Go to your house!, *ok kiuo!*
He, she goes (has gone), *hek haiyi.*
We go, *malhék hegiuo.*
They go, *amoié kollák.*
He is gone, *ik kiuo, haikidáha.*
Go on!, good-by!, *hämóh!*

Adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, interrogatives, etc.

To-day in the morning, *noloyígim tahígua.*
To-day at noon, *noló.* To-day in the afternoon, *hávit.*
Yesterday, *hikkáit.* Yesterday in the afternoon, *hikkáit hávit.*
To-morrow, *nétte.*
The day after to-morrow, *nétte káiya.*
After three days, *nányi káiya tahíguan.*
Here, *anayínho.*
Inside (the house, etc.), *naik'inho.*
Far away, *kayagí.*
Near, *koiyokóta.*
Up, upwards, *cháuo.*

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Down, downwards, *chaña.*

When?, *haragi?*

He is gone, *taiyi.*

Where is he? Where (has he gone?), *achia?, achia haikidáha?, het' taiyi? kittiah aiye?*

From where do you (does he) come?, *tsiok'inho (novyi)?*

Presently, soon, *okomelé.*

When, as soon as, *aokóm.*

To the other side of the river, *lahigó.* He has gone to the other side (passed the river), *haikidáha lahigo.*

He is coming from the Tobas down the river, *piolattik.*

There is, *uóh.*

Three exists, there is, *hénho.*

There is not, I have not, *kayá.*

It is good, it is enough, all right, *mälyi.*

What is it?, What has happened?, *heiga?*[1]

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[1] Word used in different significations and impossible to translate exactly into English.

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